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ABSTRACT

These proceedings explore issues pertaining to the combination of work and family roles from the perspectives of the family, business, government, labor, and the non-profit community. The six keynote addresses include an historical overview of families and work followed by unique perspectives representing labor, corporations, government, and the family. Specific topics are union negotiations to deal with conflicting demands of work and family life; corporate accommmodations to family needs; influencing policy decisions relating to families and work; trends in women's employment, demography, and family composition; and the changing role of the homemaker. The nine concurrent sessions reflect a rich diversity of viewpoints concerning families and work. Emphases include stresses in the family, sex roles and work, an historical perspective of families under stress, coping skills, distribution of household work, ethnic and minority differences, work policy, corporate policies and benefits, and public policy. Six reports on original research relate to methods of assessing conflict between family life and employment, role multiplicity of female academics, the impact of work on the mildly handicapped and their families, comparison of mothers' and daughters' sex-role attitudes, work roles and quality of family life among professionals and managers, and job sharing to manage family and employment roles. (YLB)

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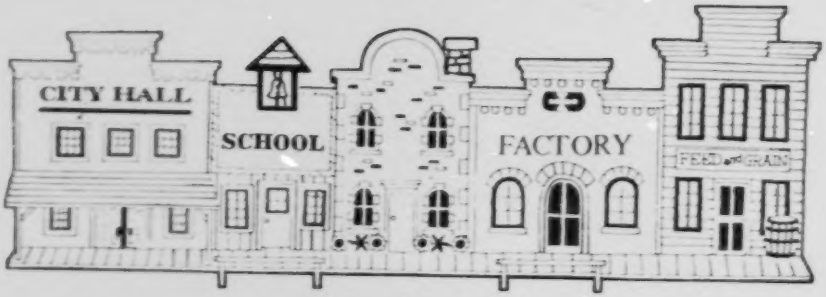

FAMILIES AND WORK

PROCEEDINGS SERIES of the FAMILY STUDY CENTER CONFERENCE VOLUME 5

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THE FAMILY STUDY CENTER

The mission of the Family Study Center is to explore the nature of contemporary family life in order to identify the competencies and needs of families with special emphasis on Oklahoma families. Its purpose, in keeping with the tradition of a land-grant university, is to share the resources of Oklahoma State University. This is accomplished through research, instruction, and extension/public service.

The Center recognizes the family as a basic social unit. Families provide nurturance for their members; they accumulate and allocate resources; and they interact with the many environments beyond the family. Many changes are occurring in the natural, economic, social, political, and technological environments with which families interact. Some changes are precipitated because families change the way they interact with other environments; other changes generate adjustments within family systems. Research and programming of the Family Study Center is based on this understanding of the family as a dynamic, interactive system.

CENTER ACTIVITIES

The Family Study Center makes its resources available to the public and to other family life professionals through the three aspects of the land-grant university:

RESEARCH

Through research the Center:

- collects and analyzes information on contemporary family behavior;
- monitors the life experiences of Oklahoma families in a changing environment;
- makes available researchers who are experienced in designing and conducting interdisciplinary research on families;
- disseminates research findings by way of publications and forums.

continued on inside of back cover

Conference Proceedings Series
Volume 5

FAMILIES AND WORK

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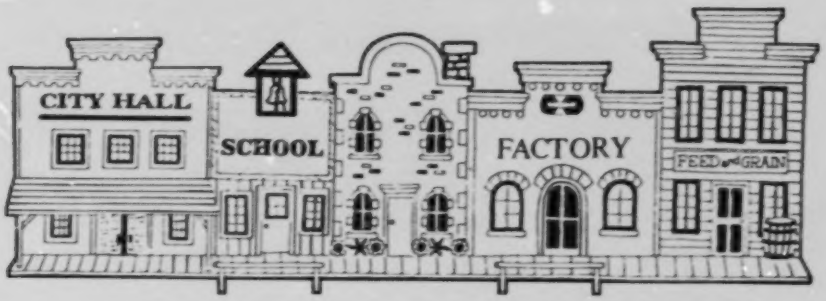

Funded in part by

The Oklahoma Humanities Committee
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MARCH 19-20, 1982

CITATION

Whereas, the continuity and expertise supplied by stable families at work, the benefits from their loyalties and the savings to the employer from reduced training costs and lower employee turnover all contribute to the stability of the economy; and WHEREAS, the American Association of University Women has received a $200,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop and implement a nationwide program on "Families and Work"; and WHEREAS, "Families and Work" will enhance public awareness of the beliefs underlying daily decisions about work and the family and will foster a better understanding of the problems to enable both employers and employees to shape organizations and public policies concerning families and work.

Now therefore, pursuant to the motion of

SENATOR BERNICE SHEDRICK

The Senate of the state of Oklahoma extends to Oklahoma State University Family Study Center sincere COMMENDATIONS and directs that this Citation be Presented.

Signed Senator Marvin York
President Pro Tempore

Senator Bernice Shedrick

As a tribute to our Oklahoma ancestors—
the women and families who adjusted to the dire circumstances that have brought us from "Plow to Now."

The Oklahoma Division of American Association of University Women have dedicated this Families and Work Conference as the official Diamond Jubilee Project.

You might say *we* are pioneers in the sense that we are focusing an awareness of problems that families face *today*.

AAUW and OSU are indeed proud to salute our Oklahoma heritage with this event.

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PREFACE

Throughout the eighties and probably into the nineties, issues relating to families and work will continue to capture the attention of the American public. Already, work-family conflicts have become the source of stress in the family and productivity problems in the workplace. In more and more families, there is no one at home to perform the managerial, maintenance and nurturing roles deemed helpful to family functioning. Instead, more parents and spouses are working outside the home and, thus, the complexities of family income increase. Within these complexities are concerns for the various stakeholders including families themselves, business and industry, government, labor and the non-profit community. What, for example, does the growth in dual-earner families mean for children, for spousal relationships, and for the care of the elderly? What does the full-time employment of single parents mean for children and their families? How do stresses and changes in the family affect worker productivity and how do stresses and changes experienced in the workplace affect family relationships? Do the values placed on family and work vary from one subculture to another? Are decision makers in the workplace obligated to consider family needs when policy and benefit decisions are made? These and other equally provocative questions have captured the interests of the Oklahoma State University Family Study Center and the Oklahoma Division of the American Association of University Women. Subsequently, these interests led them to cooperate in planning and implementing the Families and Work Conference. Persons from business, labor, academia, community service, military service, and the helping professions willingly shared their time and talents so that a stimulating conference program could be offered. All who attended contributed to the quality of the excellent dialogue that ensued. For both planners and participants, the conference proved to be a most satisfying experience.

These proceedings provide a record of the conference, as well as a document that can serve as a source for further study and issue development. The Oklahoma State University Family Study Center and the Oklahoma Division of AAUW are pleased to provide this permanent record of the outstanding presentations which made the conference a success. The editors assume responsibility for omissions made due to space limitations and for any inaccuracies which inadvertently occurred.

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps more than in any other period, families of the 1980's have been challenged by the unresolved dilemmas pertaining to the combination of work and family roles. Formerly viewed as harmonious systems on which society depended for survival, today's families are likely to experience discomfort as the two systems, families and work, interact. In addressing the theme of the conference, "The Conflicting Demands of Families and Work," conference participants had a unique opportunity to explore the issues from the perspectives of the various stakeholders: the family, business, government, labor, and the non-profit community. These perspectives were considered within a contextual milieu presented by social scientists and academic humanists. Working toward identifying the issues and defining the problems of families and work, conference participants dialogued with presenters who enhanced their understanding of the values and beliefs underlying past and contemporary decisions.

The keynote addresses for the conference included an historical overview of families and work followed by unique perspectives representing labor, government, corporations, and the family.

Carl Degler recognizes that the relation of women to family and to work is an insistent social issue that touches the central values of American life. He examines the ways in which women, families, and work have interacted in the last two centuries to bring us to the point where we are today.

John Sweeney shares perspectives of the labor movement on issues facing American workers and their families. How labor can better deal with the conflicting demands of work and family life is treated in depth. For example, Sweeney believes that one of the most overriding and unmet needs in the U. S. is the need for decent affordable day care. He reported that unions across the country are negotiating for day care provisions in the work place. Other items of importance in labor's family agenda are flextime provisions, training and upgrading of women workers, pay equity, social programs that serve families, and full employment.

Ellen Chitwood assesses the rapidity of change that is affecting the lives of families and the corporations where they are employed. Corporate accommodations to family needs include flextime, flexible leave time, extended sick leave policies, dependent care, maternity and paternity leaves, cafeteria-style benefits, and part-time jobs with full-time benefits. Chitwood warns, however, that each fringe benefit has a cost that must somehow be passed along to stockholders, consumers, or employees.

Sidney Johnson presented 10 steps to political effectiveness that can be used by those wishing to influence public policy decisions relating to families and work. Using his approach, participants were encouraged to overcome the formidable barriers that often stand between making a recommendation and making a difference.

Sharon Nickols analyzes emerging trends in women's employment, demography and family composition. Related to these trends, her view of the future includes greater responsiveness by employment systems to the needs of dual-earner families, increasing demands on employee benefit systems due to a higher concentration of older employees in the work force, and increasing complexities in the administration of employer fringe benefits due to emerging family structures.

Mary Lou Thompson presents a perspective of how the changes in today's social system will impact on the role of the full time homemaker. Thompson examines implications in four areas: family values, the changing nature of work, societal expectations, and economic conditions. A view of the future is projected that will place a greater demand on the homemaker to be a proficient juggler of time, money, household responsibilities, commitments to aging parents, volunteer contributions, and personal development.

The nine concurrent sessions reported in these proceedings reflect a rich diversity of viewpoints concerning families and work. Emphases included stresses in the family, sex roles and work, coping skills, accommodations to the work place, corporate policies and benefits, ethnic and minority differences, distribution of household work, and public policy.

Original research relating to families and work was reported and discussed in one session. Studies related to methods of assessing conflict between family life and employment, role multiplicity of female academics, the impact of work on the mildly handicapped and their families, role choices available to women, work roles and quality of family life among professionals and managers, and job sharing as a means of managing family and employment roles.

The perspectives of academic humanists permeated the entire conference. This orientation evolved from a consensus among the planners that family concerns and experiences are best understood within a context that examines philosophical premises, historical precedents, and contemporary values. Hopefully, this model for identifying and studying families issues will be utilized by participants as they continue to study the American family.

The editors, on behalf of the Oklahoma State University Family Study Center, the Oklahoma Division of the American Association of University Women, and the Families and Work Conference Planning Committee thank the conference presenters and participants for meeting the challenge presented by the conference objectives. All contributed to a greater knowledge base for understanding families and the stresses they experience as they attempt to balance their work and family roles. The editors also thank the Oklahoma Humanities Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities for providing partial funding for the conference. Their contributions were particularly helpful in obtaining nationally recognized keynote speakers and in funding the conference proceedings.

Beulah M. Hirschlein
William J. Braun
Family Study Center

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PART ONE:
KEYNOTE SESSIONS

Conflicting Demands of Families and Work

Carl N. Degler

Being an historian, I could not help but think as I began to reflect on the title of this conference, Families and Work, that such a title is clearly embedded in time in the past. A hundred years ago the phrase would have been almost without meaning. How could families and work be in conflict? Was not work the way in which the family was supported? Was not the family an agency through which work was accomplished? Even as recently as 1950, the issue would not have seemed very important, though by then it would have been viewed as reference to women's place within the family based on the assumption that if a woman worked, she might threaten or alter the proper character of the family.

We recognize today that the relation of women to family and to work is an insistent social issue that touches central values of American life and that is what I will examine—the ways in which women, families and work have interacted in the last two centuries to bring us to the point where we now have a conference on the pressing subject of the conflicting demands of families and work.

I will begin by looking at the ways in which women have helped to shape families as we have come to know them in America, for the present situation of women, work and families is derived from that history. If we are to appreciate the dimensions of our present day conflicts, we have to recognize that families, like most institutions of society, change over time. That is, they have a history.

Even in the relatively young United States, the family has changed a great deal. In fact, the family as we define it today only began to emerge in the last two centuries. The modern family, the one with which you are familiar today, is a relation between husband and wife and between children and parents. Its character has been shaped by two large forces: 1) the urbanization and industrialization of the country; and 2) the rising self-consciousness of women. The effects of the first of these influences, urbanization and industrialization, are quickly told. When a family moved from a farm to the city or town, the internal relations of the family members were altered. The work of women and men was now separated physically to a degree unknown before. It is true that the work of men and women on a farm had always been differentiated as it is today in the agricultural or pre-industrial societies of the

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Carl N. Degler is a Margaret Byrne Professor of American History, Stanford University, Stanford, California. His book, Neither Black Nor White, won the Pulitzer Prize in History in 1972.

developing world. Despite the separation in tasks, a husband and wife labored together with their children as they grew up to produce the goods and services necessary to maintain the family. Work and family were united in a common enterprise. This association, however, was disrupted for increasing numbers of families by the rise of the factory and the city. Men now left home each day to work in a shop, factory or office. Moreover, economic activities within the city or the factory gradually eliminated many of the jobs that women had filled on the farm. The myriad types of goods she had produced in the home could now be purchased as products of commercial shops and factories. A family was no longer a common working unit and the wife was no longer a provider. Instead, the family became a consumer. It was out of that situation that the wife began to reshape the family.

How did women begin to shape the families of the early nineteenth century as compared to families of the colonial period? The most obvious way was through their roles as primary rearers, as well as bearers, of children. But early in the nineteenth century the interrelation between mother and child was a much more important relation than it had been before. Not only was the mother expected to care for the physical needs of the child but she was also responsible for the inculcation of proper values. It was she who prepared the child for the world. That had not been the case in the colonial years. The advice books for parents in the colonial period were generally addressed to the father, for he was the person charged with seeing that his sons would have the proper values. By the early nineteenth century, however, the advice books were being addressed to mothers both for the rearing of sons and daughters. In the process of becoming the principal child rearer, a woman also became the moral guardian or preceptress of the family and not only for the children but for the husband as well.

Some men, particularly religious leaders, undoubtedly helped develop this moral role for women for it was recognized even in the eighteenth century that women were more religious and, therefore, more moral than men; thus, they could be trusted to be the proper moral guides for husbands, as well as children. In achieving the position of moral guardian, women enhanced their position in the family. During these same years, children were perceived as special beings worthy of close and loving attention. So important were the children that the woman who was responsible could not fail in the process to advance her own status within the family.

A further way in which women's place within the family improved in the opening years of the nineteenth century was in the widespread acceptance of education for girls. Education since the days of the Puritans had been an important American value—but primarily for males; however, if women were to be the primary rearers of children, they needed to be educated. It is no accident that soon after the American Revolution and the gradual emergence of this new kind of family, a number of schools for girls were established. Even more important than the establishment of these private schools is that, when publicly supported education began to spread in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, girls were almost invariably included in the schools along with boys. The results of that unsung but clearly significant social decision are striking. By 1860, literacy among rural white women was up to 91 percent, as compared to 94 percent for farm men.

The acceptance of women's education is closely related to the woman's role as the principal child rearer in the family, as evidenced by the limits that were placed on women's opportunities for higher education. Girls were admitted to grammar schools and high schools in the nineteenth century, but they were not encouraged to enter colleges or universities until late in the century. In fact, it was not until after the Civil War that significant numbers of women were admitted to college at all. Even then, it required the establishment of women's colleges to fully provide that opportunity. The reason for the difference in attitudes towards women's education in the higher and lower levels is that for a woman to be a successful mother may have necessitated her having a good primary and secondary education, but it did not require her to go to college. College was for boys who wanted to become lawyers, ministers, doctors or other professionals.

One of the consequences of women's gaining access to education even below the college level was the use of education for purposes other than rearing children. Simply because the home was woman's principal responsibility, the creation and maintenance of the proper surroundings for a moral home easily became an obligation of women. If it was a woman's obligation to maintain the purity of her home, was she not also obligated to act outside the home if the environment threatened that purity? If, for example, excessive drinking by a husband squandered the family's income, should not a wife seek to protect her home by joining other wives and mothers to control liquor? If commercial milk supplies were contaminated or if schools were not educating properly, was not a wife morally bound to work with others to improve this situation in an effort to protect the family? In short, the elevation of women to moral guides of the family also moved them outside the family in new ways. That was the ideological foundation on which rested women's participation in the anti-slavery movement, the temperance crusade and other causes.

Another way in which women's new self-consciousness changed the family was to make it smaller. During the colonial period, it was quite common for a woman to bear eight or nine children in her lifetime. Then, in the course of the early nineteenth century, the number of children in the average American white family declined. This fall in the family size continued throughout the century and well into our own time. The reason, I think, women were the prime movers in bringing about a reduction in family size is that they had a very peculiar interest in cutting down on the number of children—interests that men did not have or share. Women's lives and health were at risk and men's were not; moreover, by having fewer children, women could do a better job of rearing those they did have.

One of the most striking pieces of evidence to show, among others, that women were interested in limiting their family size in the nineteenth century was the rise in abortion. Prior to 1821, not a single state in the country had any legal restriction on abortion, but in the 1840's and 1850's, a number of states, under the prodding of medical doctors, passed laws against abortion, a sure sign of the increasing incidence of abortions, especially in cities. Prevalence among married women, as the medical literature of the time makes evident, was an obvious sign of women's growing and enduring interest in limiting the risk of excessive childbearing. Abortion was not the primary means of controlling for fertility. It was, however, a prominent one to which many thousands of women resorted, even after the laws against it were enacted.

There is one further change in the American family during the nineteenth century that will also seem quite modern and women played an important, though certainly not a unique role. I am referring to the increase in divorce. In the colonial period, divorce had been primarily a man's answer to an unsatisfactory marriage, and until very late in the eighteenth century a woman could not divorce even an adultrous husband, though any husband could escape from a marriage if his wife committed adultry. More than one interpretation can be made of a high divorce rate and not all of those interpretations are negative. It is, among other things, a measure of importance of happiness in marriage. Divorce is more than mere separation. It is the right to remarry—that is, to try for personal happiness again.

My point has been that a number of characteristics of families, that today we would consider modern, first came into being in the early nineteenth century. And a number of them can be related as we have seen to self-conscious effort of women to achieve more autonomy or influence within the family. But I do not want to exaggerate the improvement in the position of women within the family that followed these changes that I have been talking about. For even when women had less work to do within the urban home than when they were on the farm or frontier, achieved the right to an education and were active in a variety of social causes, they were still subordinated within the family to a degree than men were not. The home remained woman's proper and narrow sphere, even though some women obviously used that role as a way of changing the world outside. Not even gaining the vote changed that situation, though it was certainly intended to. Nor did the opening of professional education to women bridge the gap between the opportunities available to women and those available to men.

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, women had to make a choice between work or marriage and family—a choice no man had to make. It was not that women were denied access to jobs; since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, women had been an important part of the paid labor force. In some industries, such as cotton textiles, they made up as much as two thirds of all workers. In the manufacturing sector as a whole, women workers constituted about a fifth of the total work force throughout the nineteenth century. The jobs were available but not with marriage. The combination was virtually out of the question. Women workers in the early twentieth century, and they numbered in the millions, were almost always unmarried. Until 1940, no more than 15 percent of married women were gainfully employed. If one looked only at black women, the proportion would have been much higher, but even the tendency over time was for black women, too, to drop out of the labor force, once they married. In sum, unlike a man, a woman had to choose whether she would work or have a family. It simply was not considered proper to combine the two. And given the unreliability of contraceptives, it probably was not practical either. For a man, on the other hand, it was taken for granted that he would pursue his occupation or career and have a family as well. In that sense, women's and men's social horizons were quite different. Families had not changed in almost two centuries. They were still the same as they had been when modern families first emerged in the decades after the American Revolution.

The second period of change in American families occurred during and after World War II when the government called upon married women to take the places

in war plants of workers who had gone into the armed services. Deliberately breaking all the taboos about the employment of married women, the government encouraged even mothers of small children to take on war jobs. The assumption was that this break with the past was necessary but only temporary. Once the war was over, it was expected that the old ways would return and that married women would give up their jobs. Instead, the war effort seems to have catalyzed a massive movement of married women into the permanent paid work force. And during the 1950's and 1960's, for example, more women entered the labor force than men—an unprecedented event in economic history. The explanation is that millions of American women who had never worked before, or at least not since marriage, were now taking jobs, and they far outnumbered young men taking their first jobs. Today, of course, the average woman worker is married, in contrast to the small minority of working wives in 1940.

Women now expect what men have always taken for granted, an opportunity to combine a career or occupation and marriage and family. A poll conducted by Redbook Magazine in 1973 among its readers suggested how profoundly the family and women's place in it had changed since 1945. Less than two percent of the women queried said they believed a woman could realize her full potential by being a wife and mother only. Yet as recently as 1940, those were the primary roles filled by 85 percent of married women. Although today the average working woman is married, that fact ought not to cause us to ignore the variety of reasons why women work outside the home. Among college educated women, work often means career and personal fulfillment in a number of ways. But that is not necessarily the meaning of work for less highly trained women. For many of those women, their jobs do not require uninterrupted participation over a long period of time. And the incentive for work may be mainly a way of increasing income often in order to meet certain family needs that may well be temporary, such as putting children through college or paying for a house. For many women, in short, rearing children for a while and then entering a job after the children are grown may well be consonant with the woman's interest and aspirations as a person. Indeed, for some working class women, care of the house and children while children are young may well be a decided improvement over participation in the work force. For women who seek to pursue professional careers, however, the interruption in work, even if the interruption is for only a few years, can be devastating, since the men with whom a woman competes in a career do not drop out. The men continue to add to their experience, contacts and knowledge while the women do not.

The important consideration is that the opportunity for a woman to work and to have a family at the same time is essential to the realization of a woman's potential as a human being. The issue is not that all married women ought to work, but that all married women should have the option to combine work and family just as the man does. The question is how to maximize woman's choices—how to make a young woman's social horizons as open as the young man's.

Until very recently, there was not even any thought that a woman ought to have a chance to combine career and marriage. If a woman wanted a career, she simply remained unmarried. That was the way women of the nineteenth and early twentieth century worked it out.

Nowhere is the abiding interest in marriage and family more powerfully demonstrated than in the record Americans have compiled over the years in regard to marriage. They may have one of the highest divorce rates in the industrialized world, but they also have the earliest average age of marriage and the highest proportion of people who marry. The proportion is now almost as high as it can go in a large and complex society—almost 95 percent of American adults have been married at least once. No other western country or Japan comes close to that high rate. Moreover, the United States has a high rate of remarriage, a ratio that is rising, especially for women. All of this suggests that, despite the undeniably high divorce rate, Americans have not given up on marriage and family, even though they may have given up on a particular spouse.

Even the upward moving divorce rate appears less disturbing when put into historical perspective. If one of the principal objections to divorce is that it leaves the family with only one parent present, then the family of a century ago may not have been as emotionally and financially secure as we think, when we contrast divorce rates of these days with those then. In 1950, about 28 marriages out of each 1000 were dissolved by divorce or death of one of the partners, a proportion that is slightly lower than the figure for 1860. The explanation is that in 1860, death was the principal disruptor of marriage while in 1960, divorce was. One cannot equate the emotional consequences of death and divorce to either the partners or the children, yet there are similarities that make our high divorce rate today less novel.

If, today, we smile at the nineteenth century's designation of the family as a haven in a heartless world, our realism should not blind us to the genuinely supportive functions of the family in a competitive, dangerous and anxious world. To be sure, children are beaten excessively or thrown out of the family just as wives are brutalized within the modern family. But these experiences, deplorable as they are, do not constitute the norm statistically or evaluationally. We still see the family as the classic alternative to the individualism, competitiveness and impersonality of the modern industrial world. By definition, the family is noncompetitive, cooperative and nonjudgemental.

Women today have indeed gained the right to work and family. There has truly been a revolution since 1945. Until the Second World War, most men considered it an insult or a threat for their wives to be employed outside the home. That attitude has now changed for most men. Probably most of them actually expect their wives to work after marriage and after the children are born, especially in a period of high inflation. Few young women today have to cajole or argue with their husbands to be permitted to continue working after marriage. Examined more closely, however, this change turns out to be not much of an alteration after all. The acceptance of work outside the home for wives is still done within the assumptions of the family before 1940. The average husband is quite willing to have his wife work, so long as she continues to be the primary child rearer and housekeeper and, secondarily, an income earner.

In sum, woman's work outside the home is still expected to be shaped around the family, while man's work continues to shape the family. The family adjusts its place of residence to the needs of his job, to his schedule of work and to his career aspirations, while a wife's work is expected to adjust to her responsibilities as mother and housekeeper. A woman cannot expect to pursue her chosen work with the same

single-minded purpose that a man does. The ultimate question then becomes—can things be so arranged or organized that the the opportunities of women in marriage can be made equal or nearly equal to those of men? I am defining a family as wife, husband, and children. Obviously, couples without children do not have much of a problem in establishing an egalitarian or symmetrical marriage so long as both desire it. It is possible that in the future there will be more childless marriages, but so far, there is no reason to believe that anything close to a majority of marriages will be childless. In fact, a slightly higher proportion of marriages were childless in the nineteenth century than there are today. The issue, of course, is not the bearing of the child but the rearing of it and the maintenance of the household. Until very recently, it had been assumed that these were primarily the jobs of women, especially since the early nineteenth century. It is in that sense that we can say that families as we have known them have depended for their functioning upon the subordination of a woman's interest as an individual to that of her family. I see the central question for women and families in coming years to be—how might the traditional inequality or subordination of women to the family be eliminated or at least reduced? The most obvious institutional answer is the child care center, that is, some kind of cooperative or communal care for children. Institutional care of children is much more acceptable today than it was even a decade ago. Yet, it is not really popular, however practical it may seem in theory. Although there are millions of working mothers today, the great majority of them depend not on institutional care but on neighbors, relatives and friends for the care of their children while they are working. Part of this lack of reliance on child care centers derives from the high cost to individual parents if the centers are not publicly supported. But an even more important explanation is that institutional care is generally perceived by parents as bureaucratic, impersonal, cold and unimaginative. Publicly supported institutional care is socially expensive if it is to approximate the care provided by a mother or even a relative.

One suggestion that has attracted a good deal of attention is flex-time. That is, work schedules that permit employees to set times of arrival and departure from the job, thereby permitting them to shape their work around family responsibilities rather than the other way around. They must, of course, work a full 40-hour week, but the times when they put in those hours are up to them. The idea has been put into practice by a handful of American companies already, but it has been widely implemented in West Germany where an estimated million workers are under this arrangement. There are also other ways that help workers fit families and work together. In certain professions, particularly college teaching, an attempt has been made to have husband and wife share a single job so that each parent may participate in the care of children and home. Another suggestion has been to make part time work available for women so that mothers can better fit their work and family responsibilities together. Government and businesses need also to expand programs for maternity leaves with pay. The idea that a woman should be granted maternity leave with pay and with a job guaranteed upon completion of the pregnancy is hardly new. Sweden has been practicing it for 40 years and today in France and Germany, pregnant workers receive leaves of 12 weeks with substantial financial allowances. The idea, however, is not widely practiced in the United States even today. And even when a maternity leave is available, it lasts no longer than four weeks. A few years ago the Carnegie Council

on Children urged government and businesses in the United States to provide as a matter of course a 12-week period of leave for working mothers with at least some financial allowances.

There are, in short, a number of devices that can be used to combine work and childbearing and even child rearing. In the Soviet Union, for example, all sorts of arrangements have been introduced to enable women to work and have children. These arrangements include maternity leaves, relieving pregnant women from heavy work, overtime and travel, as well as breastfeeding children at work. Such arrangements will still leave women in the position, however, of shaping their work around the family. Men's work, on the other hand, is structured around the assumption that men have no responsibility for home or children. They can even be expected to take work home with them. Yet, if a woman cannot take work home, she is excluded from certain jobs. Not surprisingly, the bulk of students in evening and correspondence courses in the Soviet Union are men. What the Soviet experience tells us is that governmental and business support for women's family responsibilities will not completely meet the issue of equality between men and women within families. It is true that maternity leaves can be translated into paternity leaves. Some municipal governments in the United States, for example, have provided for a father to be able to take a paternity leave upon the birth of his child. In that way, he can stay home with the baby while his wife returns to work. The actuality is, however, that very few men seem to take advantage of this opportunity. Yet the idea of paternity leaves is one way women might be relieved of that long interruption of child care. To put it into practice, however, means that men's attitudes will have to be changed.

The point to which all of these remarks have been tending, then, is that men will have to take a substantial part in equalizing women's opportunities to work and have a family. When men are willing to assume responsibilities for child care and home maintenance, then governmental policies in favor of equality will begin to work and to be widely implemented. But getting men to share responsibilities in home and family with women will not be easy. Even if the husband agrees to sharing responsibilities, the working out of the arrangement will be difficult. Many jobs do not permit sufficient flexibility in hours of obligations to allow work to be shaped, even in part, around the family. Our economy is largely based on the assumption that one adult member of a family is free to work a full day away from home. In professional and semi-professional work, the assumption is that even out-of-work hours may be intruded upon as well. If both spouses share home responsibility, these assumptions can no longer be held. The immediate effect is that businesses and government as employers would have to change their modes of operation. If men are converted to the idea of sharing parental and household responsibilities, then the new flexibility in work will follow quite easily. The transformation of male attitudes, then, is central. It is not likely to be legislatively imposed or otherwise mandated successfully if men do not really wish the change to take place. For the stark fact is that the opportunity to pursue a career without interference from family responsibility has been one of several advantages of being male in our society. For many men, sharing responsibilities to family will constitute a loss, and few people give up their advantages readily.

The picture I am presenting here is admitedly pessimistic, though I would describe it as realistic. Nevertheless, there are many men for whom the idea of sharing paren-

tal responsibility may not be as costly and, therefore, as strongly resisted as it might be for some others. I am thinking of men who work on assembly lines or in jobs that are repetitive, perhaps boring, physically demanding and, above all, lack much chance for improvement or change over the years. Since such jobs, and there are millions of them in this highly mechanized and organized economy of ours, do not change much over time, a worker can move out of his job and back into it again without loss of skill or new knowledge. For a man in such a job, a stint at home with small children or even with a baby may be refreshing and diverting or even humanizing. At the same time, he would be permitting his wife to go out to work for a while so that she might escape the narrow and sometimes suffocating confines of house and children. In short, husband and wife in the working class family could easily spell one another at home and at work, though not necessarily in the same jobs. But once again, this approach to men's work would require a redefinition of what it means to be a man in this society. Today few working class men are of the thinking that being at home is proper for a man, though I suspect that many of them in the privacy of their innermost thoughts sometimes envy their wives' myriad activities and the close human associations that women have on a daily basis with the children, the neighbors and relatives. Homecare is the most diverse of occupations.

If these changes are to occur in our thinking about men's conceptions of work and family responsibilities, then every possible avenue of persuasion will have to be explored. Governmental practice can set examples by encouraging men to take paternity leaves. Business corporations can offer flexible work schedules as well as paternity leaves, thereby suggesting that men, too, have family as well as job responsibilities. And individual men themselves must get to the point of expressing their own interests in assuming some of the traditional familial tasks of women. The key to the new approach much be that men take full responsibility for a particular set of household or child-rearing tasks. This means that a man cannot get out of a job except when his wife is willing to relieve him temporarily. When a husband says he helps his wife at home, that is a dead giveaway that he still sees the job as hers and not his responsibility.

If you think that there is a certain Utopianism or idealism in these suggestions, you are right. It is one thing to urge men to assume responsibilities that have been traditionally women's. It is quite another to get them to do so. And that is true whether the man is a professional, an artisan, or a machine operator. What now needs to be done is to come up with policy recommendations that would encourage government or businesses to offer incentives or rewards to men who restructure their relation between work and family. Men will have to be encouraged, induced, cajoled, bribed and influenced to take up duties that have not been traditionally theirs. Perhaps we might think about giving tax breaks to companies that offer pay or other incentives to men to restructure their working schedules on behalf of family responsibilities. Or perhaps government could give extra vacation time to men who stay home with children just as we now give maternity leave to women employees. But for the men it would go beyond paternity leaves and would be a reward, in short. Clearly though, we need hard thinking on the whole question, since raising the issue is no more than a first step. Now we need ways to encourage men to change if we are to equalize the opportunities of women within the family.

For reasons that I think are clear by now, I believe that over the last two centuries, American families have been in the process of change, largely, though not exclusively, because of the rising concern among women in advancing their interests as individuals. Thus, it can be said that from the outset, modern American families have been in tension between the interests of women as individuals and the requirements of the family. At no time, though, has that tension been higher than it is today. For today, we recognize not only a woman's right to pursue her interests in a career or job but also her right to enjoy the comfort and support of a family at the same time, if that is her aspiration. We must recognize that the conflicting demands of work and families really come down to conflicts within the families. For in the end, the real issue is the definition of that relation we call a family. No longer can we be satisfied with seeing it, as we usually did until the 1950's, as one in which a woman subordinates her individual interests to those of husband and children. That is why I urge you to think about ways in which men can be encouraged to share with women the obligations of family. That, I think, is the large issue of our time. Its resolution will be neither easy nor quick. No other society in the past has attempted it on a large scale or even thought of it. And that is why it seems perplexing and difficult for many today. But, as I hope you have seen, we have already made many changes in the family on behalf of women's interests. It is only necessary now to strike for the last equality of all—work or career for women as well as family.

Families and Work: A Labor Perspective

John J. Sweeney

I would like to share some of the perspectives of the labor movement on issues facing American workers and their families. In so doing, I want to put forth some of our ideas as to how we can better deal with the often conflicting demands of work and family life.

Organized labor has long been concerned about the stability of the American family. Although today we seem to be surrounded by prophets of doom concerning the future of the family, I think it is wise to remember that keeping a family together has never been an easy proposition for working people and for poor people. And the debates on family policy and issues affecting women workers all too often ignore the fact that these are problems in the workplace, and not merely problems at home.

Today, of course, we see numerous signs of real change with family life, as we have traditionally known it. American families are indeed going through a revolution: 1) divorce rates are climbing and fertility rates are falling; 2) increasing numbers of children are being raised in single parent homes; and 3) married women are entering and staying in the labor market in record numbers.

These structural changes are compounded by what many see as a revolution in personal morality and the impact of modern society and technology. This rapid transformation has brought about a furor of public debate over the family in recent years. During the past presidential election, the "integrity of family life" became a political hot potato and candidates were subsequently labeled "pro-family" or "anti-family." In fact, many politicians have used this issue to allege that many of the social programs of the past half century are to blame for the breakup of the American family. Such allegations are false. Working families and poor families have always had severe strains put on them. Their struggle to survive and prosper in our economy has always been intense, and economic pressures have always translated into social problems for American workers and their families.

The labor movement has always been concerned with providing supportive programs that could enhance workers' ability to care for and nurture their families. The labor movement was at the forefront in pushing for child labor laws, for minimum wage laws, for workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. All of this social legislation was designed to produce a living wage for working families and protect families against the worst of boom and bust economic cycles. New Deal legislation won by progressives and the labor movement was designed to provide support for the family. There has probably never been a more pro-family piece of legislation enacted than the 1935 Social Security Act.

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In addition, the labor movement has always supported public education, safety and health laws, and consumer legislation, all of which have the ultimate goal of making the job of raising a family a bit easier for Americans. Today, however, the demands of work place even more stress on traditional family structures.

Two major changes particularly affect families: 1) the increased number of women who are now working; and 2) the general shift away from an industrial and manufacturing economy towards a service and white collar economy. More than 50 percent of all American women are in the workforce today. Three decades ago, that figure was only 20 percent. Thirty years ago only about ten percent of mothers with young children worked outside the home. Now, 45 percent of them do. In fact, more than one-half of children between the ages of three and five have mothers in the workforce.

In the past, women's participation in the workforce followed an M-curve. They entered the labor force in thier early 20's, withdrew with marriage and children, and returned when their children grew up. Today, the pattern of participation in the workforce by men and women is very similar. Yet the jobs that women have are still clustered in the lower paid, less skilled occupations. Eighty percent of all clerical workers are women, while only six percent of all craft workers are women. And the average income for women continues to be only 59 cents for every dollar of income that a man earns.

There's no doubt that many public policy analysts see the growing number of women in the American workforce as being detrimental. They see a multitude of problems caused by working mothers. And they see problems resulting from the competition that women bring to males in the workforce. These problems cannot be overlooked or underestimated. Whether it is the issue of latchkey children or something as obscure as the impact on male esteem, there is no doubt that this workplace revolution has had severe repercussions for American society. But the basic fact is that most women work out of sheer necessity. Many women naturally work because work itself fulfills their own needs. But the phenomena of women working for "pin money" is long past.

Working women are good for our economy. Women who are second wage earners account for nearly 25 percent of our gross national product. And if they were paid what they should be paid, they would account for a lot more.

This revolution in the workforce has so drastically changed the traditional family that finding a "traditional" family is difficult. Only 13 percent of all families are two-parent families where the mother stays home and takes care of the children. To deal with this dramatic change in the workplace, we need decent social and economic legislation and not useless rhetoric. Unfortunately, the United States lags far behind other industrialized countries in this area.

One of the most overriding and unmet needs in the United States today is the need for decent and affordable daycare. Organized labor has long been in favor of universal daycare run through our public school systems. It is a natural and rational reaction to the changes that we have witnessed in the workplace during the past 30 years. Yet today, decent daycare is the exception—not the rule. Still many unions, especially my own, have moved to negotiate for daycare at the workplace. We simply cannot wait for politicians to solve this problem. In hospitals and government buildings across the country Service Employees International Union members

are negotiating for daycare provisions where they work.

Another important and related issue is the need for flexible working hours. Although this is a complicated issue to solve through legislation because of the impact on overtime laws, it is, none-the-less, critically important for women workers. Here again, labor unions have moved to negotiate flex-time provisions in contracts to allow women workers a broader range of options in scheduling their jobs and juggling the demands of their family life.

A third and often overlooked issue deals with the training and upgrading of women workers. We are never going to solve the problems of the wage differential between men and women until we have a rational way of training and upgrading less-skilled workers into higher paying positions. My own union has been a leader in this area. For instance, we have developed apprenticeship programs in the hospitals which permit workers to get the necessary education, training and accreditation while on the job and be guaranteed a promotion at the end of the apprenticeship program. At the present time, we are apprenticing nurses aides and orderlies to become LPN's and we are apprenticing LPN's to become RN's. The need to expand such training programs and expand adult educational opportunities remains great. Yet, the potential for making our economy more productive is equally as great.

Above all, the foremost issue which must be addressed is the issue of pay equity and discrimination. The ratio of earnings of women to men has remained constant over the years despite legislation such as the Equal Pay Act and legislation prohibiting discrimination in hiring. The reason is the clustering of women workers in lower skilled and lower paying jobs. The notion that certain jobs are female jobs and certain jobs are male jobs pervades our economy and our society. The notion of pay equity—equal pay for work of comparable value—is a vital issue for organized labor. There can be little doubt that many job evaluation systems are biased against positions held by females. This bias is subsequently written into many civil service systems and job evaluation mechanisms. Much of the bias is attributable to the way we evaluate work in our society—simplistic supply and demand guidelines.

Providing decent wages for workers where the market alone does not provide them is a concern and goal that is at the heart of the labor movement. We know that pay equity is an intensely complex issue, one that must be dealt with at the collective bargaining table. There is no doubt that many legal constraints on equitable pay exist today, yet the complex task of evaluating one job with another is one which I would hate to see performed by a government agency or federal court. Jobs often vary from workplace to workplace, even in the same job classification, and the issue of putting a numerical value on certain occupations is indeed a dangerous proposition. Consider the comparison of a public hospital nurse and a city garbage collector. Under today's system of wage evaluations, we often find the garbage collector making more money than the nurse—a perfect example of a wage disparity based on past history and sexual discrimination. Making a judgement on how to alter the relative worth of these two jobs to each other requires a very complex set of questions. It has been our experience that workers themselves are able to deal with this complex task in a straight forward and fair way, a way which deals with the political as well as the economic problems of the workplace. But we have a long way to go

in the area of pay equity before we are able to close the wage gap that still separates male and female workers.

Without question, the increase in working women over the past three decades has produced pressures on the workplace as well as on the family. And this revolution in our workforce has become a political football for many who have agendas other than simply maintaining family integrity.

At the 1980 White House Conference on Families, the AFL-CIO submitted organized labor's view of the problems facing the American Family in the 1980's. We stated at that time that there were many unmet needs in America's social agenda that hurt the family—unmet needs in healthcare, education, social services and welfare programs, and unmet needs in providing on-the-job training and in fighting discrimination. Yet in the two years since that conference, American policy towards families seems to be taking giant steps backwards. The past two years have seen an all out attack on many critical social programs enacted specifically to deal with problems that confront American families.

Most of the victims of these cruel cutbacks are women and children. Seventy-six percent of the recipients of the social security minimum benefits are women. Sixty-nine percent of food stamp recipients are women and there are 11 million children who depend on food stamps. Fifty percent of CETA participants are women and two-thirds of the clients of Legal Services Corporation are women. The massive cuts in social spending of the past year have had a direct and often devastating effect on women and children. Compounded by cutbacks in such things as school lunch programs, college loans and child nutrition programs, the end result is a massive assault on the ability of families to survive in these tough economic times.

Perhaps worse than all of the cutbacks in funding for social programs is the deadliest enemy of all for the American family—unemployment. Today, with unemployment nearing depression levels, the mismanaged American economy has the potential to wreck millions of American families. Unemployment means far more than a loss of the family's economic wherewithal. Unemployment destroys the family's sense of security, the parent's self image and esteem in the community. And the stress that unemployment puts on a family—often young families—can be especially decisive.

Fear of unemployment is especially strong in the communities threatened by plant closings or where new technologies threaten old occupations. Unemployment, as Dr. Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University has shown, directly leads to increased deaths from heart attacks, suicides, liver diseases and other stress-related ailments. There also can be no doubt that unemployment leads directly to increased child abuse, increased wife beating and increased divorce. For American workers, unemployment has always been the one haunting spector on the horizon that could undo years of building and raising a family.

Throughout the United States this winter we have seen the grim signs of depression again raising its ugly head. There is already a depression in the United States—a depression whose severity has yet to be measured. The number one task we have today is restoring a measure of full employment to our economy. Unfortunately, the economic policies presently being pursued in Washington are hardly an answer to

this economic plight. Our nation cannot afford less than a full-employment economy. Full employment must be our primary goal in economic policy matters. Federal taxing, spending and monetary policies must be planned and coordinated to encourage economic growth to achieve and sustain a full employment.

Yet, instead of policies to promote full employment, today's Washington policymakers promote an economic game plan that will only deepen the recession that we are already in. We have an excessively tight monetary policy which is bolstering interest rates far in excess of inflation and increasing corporate debt to record levels. We have a fiscal policy which is cutting back on spending for social programs and, thereby, draining money out of the hands of lower income families and working people. And we have a tax policy which is transferring massive amounts of wealth to the rich and corporations in the notion that "supply-side economics," which we thought had been discredited with Herbert Hoover, is going to turn our national economy around. The impact of these national economic policies on American families has been devastating.

We in the labor movement are extremely concerned that, unless there is a change in direction in Washington, we are going to see an economic crises that most of us thought could never happen in this country again. The one-two punch of reduced government services and a deliberately-induced recession has brought millions of American families to the brink of economic disaster. Personal bankruptcies are increasing everyday and as unemployment benefits run out in our industrial cities, crime and social unrest will no doubt increase substantially as we move into the summer months.

But it does not have to be this way. We can have a society which protects American families, especially mothers and children. We can have a society which provides a decent paying job for everyone who wants to work and supportive services for the families of working people. We can have a society where the economy provides decent wages to all workers, male or female, skilled or unskilled. And we can have a society where the family, in whatever manifestation it takes, is a secure and protected entity. We can have this type of society in the United States.

There are two major ingredients for such a society—a national will and a commitment by the national government. I believe the national will already exists. What is lacking is government commitment. For us to realize this kind of society, it is essential that we alter the directions of government policy being promoted in Washington today. We must return to a government of the people, a government run by the people for the common benefit of all the people—not just for the benefit of an affluent few.

In conclusion, the family, as we have traditionally known it, is not disappearing. I do not believe, as do some economists, that the family was suited only for a certain type of industrial structure and that the changes brought about by twentieth century society spell doom for the traditional family structure. Perhaps Margaret Mead said it best when she noted that the family is "the toughest institution we have." Despite the devastating impact of our present economic problems on family lifestyles, I can assure you that American workers and the American labor movement will continue to fight for decent and humane public policies designed to assure the continued survival of the American family as we have come to know it.

Families and Work: The Corporate Perspective

Ellen Chitwood

We are living at a great time in the history of our world. It is a period of many changes, for we have slipped the bounds of earth and now speed through outer space. We can take a measure of our world and even of ourselves from outer space. We can view with a new perspective our problems and opportunities arising from the many changes. We are entering a new phase in the evolution of mankind.

To illustrate my point about change, I want to tell you about a "friend" of mine who knows a lot about evolution and change. His name is Rex; he is a dinosaur. Unfortunately, Rex could not cope with change. Rex "had it made" seventy to one hundred million years ago when the earth was younger, warmer, and a swampier place to live. There were lots of dinosaurs one hundred million years ago. They were at the top of the ladder of all living beings as man is at the top of the ladder today. Rex was as large a meat-eating creature as ever lived. In a normal slanting pose, he stood about 19 feet above the ground. He was about 50 feet long from his nose to the tip of his tail. His skull was more than four feet long and full of saber-sharp teeth. He was an effective king. Competitors feared his power and were forced to respect him. Then something happened. Rex slipped, as evolution goes, into extinction. What caused his passing? Scientists do not have a clear answer, but some think that, due to a series of geological changes, the existing plant life perished. This plant life was the natural food of the smaller animals on which Rex customarily dined. As the smaller animals disappeared, Rex had to worry about where he would get his next meal. In time, there was little or nothing Rex could eat. It is feared that he may have died of starvation. Isn't it sad that Rex refused to learn to eat another type of diet? Today, he is only a museum piece. But Rex serves as a good reminder of what can happen when you do not adapt to change. He demonstrates how easily distinction can slip toward extinction. He reminds us we must cope effectively with change, that change is constant in our lives.

Now you might think that the title of this conference you are attending is "Families and Work." Not so, that is the sub-title. The title is "Change." Historical changes were slow at first, but at a certain time in our history, they picked up speed, until now, change is a rolling stone. So my task is to discuss with you the changes as

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they pertain to the family and work from the corporate perspective. First of all, let us recognize that human beings resist change. They resist because change demands that they think. Thinking is difficult. It makes us reexamine our values and sometimes we do not want to do that.

First, I want you to understand that corporations are not run by robots. They are not managed by "they," "them," and "those;" however, that is the way to which they are referred, i.e. "they won't let me do it." Corporations are managed by Jim and Joe and Bill and Mary. (Very few Marys!) So to talk about changing corporations is to talk about changing people. Here are some of the changes that corporations must view.

Flex-time

Flex-time comes in a variety of forms. I do not pretend to be able to deal with all of them. I am just going to discuss some representatives. Most of us traditionally think about people who go to work from nine to five. That is a mythical situation but useful as an example anyway. Traditionally, everyone goes to work at the same time, bumper-to-bumper in a big city. Along comes someone who says, "I would like to do it otherwise. I would like to go in at seven o'clock and leave at three." Someone else might say, "How about letting me come in at six o'clock in the morning, particularly in the summer time, and then I can be home by two." Mercy, managers have to think.

The painful process of thinking and change are not limited to inside the corporation. A lot of other people outside of the corporation now have to think or else we have a whole set of new problems. What are we going to do with the kids? Where can they go until the day care opens? It is nice that the laundry and the cleaners open at seven, but now that I am going to work at six, where are those folks? They are home in bed. So we are not just talking about changing a portion of our world. We are possibly talking about changing all of our world. It is not just the corporation.

Another type of flex-time that we hear about is the option of working 75 to 80 hours every two weeks. This would mean I have the option, if I so desire, to work 60 hours one week, and 20 hours the next. Perhaps ones family life is such that this schedule would be wonderful. Well, here again, how many people have to think? A lot, including people in our government. Our public servants are just like all of the rest of us. They do not want to think either because there is a law on the books—protective legislation written at a time when it was greatly needed. It states that if an employee works over 40 hours in any one week, any hours over that will be paid at time and a half. If employees want to work 60 hours one week and 20 hours the next week, I, as the employer, am going to have to say, "I can't afford it." The law says you must do it this way. Here again is another change outside the corporation.

A third type of flex-time many companies have instituted is the three- or four-day work week. We have three-day work weeks at Liberty National Bank. They are three-*night* work weeks really. Many of our employees work 12 hours for three nights and then have four nights and days off. Years ago, Liberty National Bank bought a computer company. Many wonderful people came to us with this company, along with their three-night work week because most of the work is done at night. All of a sudden we had these "other" people and I went to see what they looked like. I found

surprisingly enough, that they looked a lot like me. And they were both sexes. But I had one misconception. Because Liberty National Bank has an outstanding tuition aid program, we have a lot of students who work for us at night as it fits their life style. I expected all of these night people to be young—college-age young. What I found were managerial groups, full-time job holders that had been there for several years. I have spent hours with these people saying, "Why do you do it? What is it that is suiting your needs?"

The women are saying a variety of things, such as: "It gives me four days to do my housework, and sew for the kids;" "I can do all my shopping at the slow times—I don't have to go with the rest of the world and stand in line." All are traditional answers that you might expect. Men, on the other hand, are saying something that I am very glad to hear, "I have more time to spend with my kids." I see that as very encouraging. They are saying it out loud. We have to overcome the peer pressure that it is not okay for a man to spend a good deal of time with his child, unless they happen to be on a farm where all work together.

Another type of flex-time that will cause corporations many problems is job sharing—an arrangement where two or more persons share the same job. In some instances, a wife and a husband may share the same job. This is going to take creative thinking which is even more painful than just plain thinking. How is a performance rated in that case? Can one-half of a team be terminated without the other one going down the tube? Are men willing to share equally in all areas with their spouses? Representatives of labor unions have told us "No." They will share until it comes time for the paycheck, and then they will not. So what kind of sharing is that? Will we be discriminating if we pay a man more for his half than a woman for her half? Will women be willing to share a job that is more on the professional level, that requires a great deal of education, that requires a great deal of personal study and requires travel?

Flexible Leave Time

Another challenge to corporations, and we must deal with this in a hurry, is more flexible leave time. As it stands now, most corporations have policies which enable both sexes to equally partake, such as time paid for jury duty, death in the immediate family, and military leave. While the last one sounds like it would be more for males, it is simply because there are more males involved. The policy is equally beneficial to those females who are in the reserve armed services. It is just a matter of numbers. There is no discrimination.

Sick Leave Policies

Here is where the rub is, because most sick leave policies deal only with the employee. Liberty National Bank is unique in the sense that we recognize that there are two different types of illnesses; therefore, we have two separate sick leave policies. I call one the "nickel-and-dime policy" and it provides for a day or two here and there. The other one, the "extended illness policy", provides for illnesses of five days or longer. However, we still only let the employee partake. So what happens when your child is sick? You might as well stay at home—your mind is there anyway. So,

we must recognize that this is a vital element of family life with which we have not adequately dealt.

Within the different industries, we have to determine how many days we can afford for anyone to be gone, regardless of the reason. There is a profit and loss basis that we cannot forget. The national average says that most people are out seven to eight days a year for minor illnesses, not extended illness. If the company says that seven to eight is the number of days it can afford, then it must be flexible enough to say that it really does not matter whether you or your child is sick, as long as the number of days is not exceeded. That raises another problem. What about the single parent? Are adequate days off provided? If you are lucky enough to have a two-parent family, daddy can stay home sometimes and mother can stay home sometimes. But if you are "winging it", you have to go it alone. There is really no room for a single parent to get sick.

Many times, absences occur for valid reasons other than illness. Now that both parents are working, how do you deal with the day the plumber is going to come? How does the single parent family cope? The plumber comes when he is ready and not a minute before. With anything else that goes wrong in the home, who is there to do it? *You*? Are we going to deal with this? We must.

Dependent Care

We are hearing conflicting information on this one. We are hearing from certain individuals that it is important for the corporate world to provide child care near the place where one or both of the parents work. This is not working out. It is not what we are finding in actuality. We, meaning Liberty National Bank, and other corporations in the downtown Oklahoma City area, decided this might be beneficial to our people, so we did a survey. We surveyed a large number of people working in the downtown area. The answer was "No, we don't want our children that close to us." The parents responded this way for a variety of reasons, a couple of which I will mention. One, mothers said they preferred not to have the children with them because mother has many errands that need to be run between work and home and she can do them faster if she does not have the kids with her. That was not the major reason, however. The major reason was that it is tough enough dealing with the traffic all alone, without a little one or two bouncing around in the car. Exposing the children to the danger of all the traffic accidents that take place going to and from work was not a viable option. Very realistic answer! All the new day care centers are being built in the suburban areas. Now, here again, we recognize that we are talking to someone who is working in the downtown area. That might not hold true for an industry that is not in the downtown area, but the majority of approximately 40,000 people that come to downtown Oklahoma City have not expressed a great need to have day care facilities in the downtown area.

When we talk about dependent care we think about the children. I submit there is another phase of our life that will become increasingly more important to us, and that is our elderly. In our mobile society many people have moved away from their families. They are leaving the care of older relatives to churches and private industries who run nursing care centers and offer related services. We are finding that society

is no longer wanting to be so mobile. We are finding that young people are saying to large corporations, "Thank you, but no thank you. I don't care to move." Corporations are having to be a little more creative, to think a little harder of how to promote good people, yet leave them where they are. So we are going to find that working families are going to be closer to the elderly. And when you are there, you are more concerned. We are going to see more and more pressures being put upon all of the different agencies. As our population gets older, this is going to become a more pressing issue. I will not be very productive if I am worried about my parent. We are going to be seeing facilities like Oklahoma City's Daily Living Center developing. This is a marvelous day care center for the elderly, with activities, companionship, and good meals. You feel very comfortable about the fact that they are receiving care, at least during the day. This is another problem that requires a creative solution.

Paternity Leaves

We have heard much about maternity leave, but we have heard more about paternity leave. We have heard that men do not want it. It was suggested that after the child got a little older maybe the man would be more interested in being home with the child, feeling productive and involved in the raising of the family. Maybe that is going to happen. Right now we are able to provide a six-month maternity leave with pay because of insurance. The new wrinkle is that pregnancy is to be treated as any other illness. As long as we are able to define pregnancy as a normal illness, then it can be covered under the normal medical policy. And if one has the right to stay out six months on a certain amount of income with other illnesses, then one also has the right to stay out for six months combination before and after the birth of the baby. This is a great thing for the mothers, but I do not know how we are going to work it in for the fathers. I am not saying that we can not. I am just saying, as we have an expression around Liberty National Bank, "The impossible just takes a little longer." It can be done.

Selected Benefits

We keep talking about certain selected benefits. What about those of us who do not fit in some of these categories? Are we going to raise our ugly heads and say, "Look, corporation, you are discriminating. I do not have need for maternity leave or for all of these other benefits. Would you please give me a laundry list of benefits to choose from?" Everyone else will say, "I like that approach because once my children get beyond this age I no longer will need this benefit—I will want another benefit instead." We need to be more creative in the benefits that are available to our employees, to fit their changing family needs. You are not going to have little kids around the house forever.

Part-time Jobs/Full-time Benefits

Another thing that corporations need to deal with is part-time jobs with full-time benefits. That is expensive. Who is going to pay the extra cost? The employee is

asking to be allowed to arrive at nine in order to be home in the mornings to get the children ready and off to school, and to leave by three in order to be home by the time the children get there. But the employee also wants to know that the benefits are going to be complete. Is this same employee willing to be paid less per hour to insure that the benefits will be complete? When i say benefits, the first thing most people think about is health insurance. You cannot survive today without health insurance. Full health benefits are not enough. So half health benefits are worse. We must deal with this opportunity for an individual, and obviously it is going to be women most of the time, to work on a part-time basis but have full-time benefits. There has to be giving and taking so that both sides will be able to benefit.

We are seeing electronic cottages springing up. We have a lady that works for us that lives on the shores of Lake Texhoma. She sits in front of her computer all day long with telephone lines feeding work to her while she feeds it right back out on the computer. We are seeing more and more of this. In the Chicago area, women are scattered all over the city doing bank work for some of the large Chicago banks. At a recent conference in Atlanta, we spent a lot of time dealing with the fact that we are going to have to come up with programs to help our employees deal with their boredom, now that we have all these people working at home.

We see many cases where the husband is given an opportunity to relocate for a better job and the wife and children follow. We are going to have to deal with the reverse of that role. How about the woman being given the opportunity to be the branch manager or the manager of the office in wherever? What are we going to do to help the man prepare for that role? Let him tough it out? Most of them will not do it. For most couples, it will be a joint decision that it is not worth it. The few men that do go are really going to have to be strong individuals with self esteem so high that they can handle all of the cracks and the pressures put on them by their own peer group.

How about dealing with family life in retirement? When you have an employee that is three to five years from retirement, his productivity seems to lag if he is not preparing himself for that retirement. It looks as though the corporation is again going to be put on the spot to help him prepare for no longer being a productive employee. Well, okay. We can handle it.

Another thing that needs to take place, and I see this taking place, is an evolutionary change: top management evolving into a new species. Right now, the majority of top management in companies are the stereotype family. The husband has worked very hard so his wife does not have to work. He would like to understand, would like to sympathize, but that is not his frame of reference. He does not have to worry about who is going to deal with the children, he does not have to worry about who is going to meet the plumber. His wife does. So we must wait, and fortunately not too long, for the younger group to move into managerial and decision-making positions. Because their wives or husbands are working, these new executives are coming from a different frame of reference. They will be able to understand. They too, will be demanding these changes, not just us.

Well, as always in a study conference of this kind, we ask more questions than we have answers. But I want to remind you of one thing. I would be very remiss

from the corporate perspective if I did not. All of the things that I have talked about, everything that I have mentioned costs money. Even this institution of higher education is partially funded by corporate profits. So as we are trying to jointly solve these problems, let us never forget who is paying the bill. Let us be careful that we do not "kill the goose that laid the golden egg." The meaning of my caveat is this: the corporate community is concerned about families and is working hard to reduce the conflicts between families and work. Some items in family benefits packages pay back great dividends in workers productivity while others are not so favorably aligned with sound fiscal policy. What corporations need to do is stretch and bend as much as we can to help families directly without jeopardizing our opportunity to help them indirectly through our contributions to the larger economy. Keeping these concerns in balance is high on the corporate agenda. We encourage your assistance in helping families conceptualize this broader perspective.

Families and Work: Policy Dimensions

Sidney Johnson

I want to discuss three themes: 1) Family Impact Analysis and the Family Impact Seminar to give you a sense of where I am coming from; 2) observations about work and family issues—where we are now and where possibly some next steps might come; and 3) the most important issue on the agenda of those of us concerned about families and that is what I call "making it happen" or increasing the political effectiveness of people who care about families.

Family Impact Analysis

Family Impact Analysis is a fancy term for saying—how do we find out how policies affect families? It grew from some hearings that the Mondale Committee had, concerned that too many of our efforts to help individuals in this country are well-intended but focus with almost a set of blinders, on a professional/individual connection. Too seldom was an effort made to say that we know that we are all part of social networks that influence us dramatically in good, bad or indifferent ways. Most of those networks are families, and if we want to help an individual, we should assess whether the family support system can be part of the plan. We had hearings on families and Margaret Mead said that we needed family impact statements. No one was asking how various provisions affect families. No one had done any research in family impact analysis and it needed probing and testing separate from government, since there is a tremendous suspicion of government intervention or intrusion into family life. (The fact is, of course, that government is already deeply involved in programs affecting families, but we do not have a national family policy and we do not have a family ministry like the Scandinavian countries, so we think the government is neutral.) We have welfare laws in half the states that say that the father has to leave home if the mother and children are going to be aided. We have in the medicare legislation, which is one of the most family supportive initiatives around, a provision which needs to be reconsidered stating that once you leave the hospital, if you are sent to a nursing home, medicare will pay 100 percent of the cost for 100 days, but if your doctor and your family think that you should go home and employ a part time person to assist you, you do not receive payment. I am not against nursing homes. They are needed. I am, however, against major economic incentives that do not permit options in care and which exclude family care specifically, or at least make it prohibitively expensive. Because of examples like these and the feeling that this idea of family impact analysis was worth probing, a couple of foundations sup-

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ported the creation of the Family Impact Seminar in 1976 to examine the feasibility of family impact analysis.

The Family Impact Seminar is an independent non-partisan organization with 24 scholars and policy makers including Beverly Crabtree, Urie Bronfenbrenner, Terrel Bell, the Secretary of Education in the current administration, and a number of others. With their help and guidance, their insights and advice from nine different disciplines, it has been an exciting mixture of perspectives. In six years, we have looked at the feasibility of family impact analysis in several different ways. We did in-depth studies of foster care, teenage pregnancy and flex-time work schedules to see how those policies affected families. We were excited about the findings. We also felt that they were pretty distant from affecting people and we wanted to see whether this concept could be helpful at the service delivery level, so we had a nationwide field project including 12 local agencies. For example, the one in Texas consisted of several community action agencies, hospitals, children's agencies and PTA's. We trained their staff to look at how policies in their communities affected them and the families they served. They were able to come up with a series of recommendations that did not cost billions of dollars to implement and they were able to implement a fair number of them.

We followed that with some current work providing technical assistance to three states that are interested in looking at how their policies affect families. Many of the policies that affect families are part of the jurisdiction of states. With block grants and the new federalism, it is critical to get a family perspective at the state level. We are now working with the National Governors Association to seek funding for technical assistance in other states and we will be working at the city level on similar projects.

These are some examples of what we are trying to do. We have moved from the conceptual to the more practical and hands-on approach, trying to make a difference in the real world and the policy world. In one sense, family impact analysis can make tremendous contributions provided (1) we do not over-promise, (2) we do not assume that this is the perspective that helps on every policy that ever existed, and (3) we do not say we are going to apply the process in every area immediately. We believe it is better to conduct analyses on a more selective basis.

Work and Family Observations

I want to touch on two things we have done in this area. One is a study of flex-time work schedules. We were curious as to what extent flex-time helped families balance their work and family responsibilities. There has been a lot of interest in the effects of flex-time on productivity, on commuting, on energy usage, etc., but no one had really examined the impact on families. So we looked at two government agencies, one with and one without flex-time and had an in-depth questionnaire and survey to assess the effect on families. The findings were interesting. First, flex-time was very popular. The people on flex-time and most supervisors found it useful in general ways. Secondly, we found that the flex-time offered by government provided virtually no help to two-earner and single parent families because, to vary a work schedule, one had to alert the supervisor two weeks in advance. The people helped most were the singles and the families without children. I concluded that there are all kinds of

flex-times and that we should be very precise when we talk about flex-time and its advantages or disadvantages. There are different kinds of families, and some will benefit from one approach and some from another, so we should ask families themselves what effect they are experiencing, instead of just assuming that it is useful.

The second project that we are involved in is with the Governor's Office of the state of New York. They have established a task force on work and families and they are doing extensive research into part time job opportunities in state government. They have identified all the part time workers and are asking them a series of questions. It is very vigorous research. But they are doing something even more exciting because it is public and provides a facility to disseminate and collect information through "work place forums." When government investigates the business sector, it usually looks for fraud and abuse. But there are probably some positive things going on and the theme here is a success model. A variety of corporations in New York State have undertaken various initiatives such as flex-time, part time or day care to help families and to help productivity. The task force committee has gone to some of those corporations for a day and listened to the managers, the employees and the families explain why an initiative is working and how it benefits them. Our thinking was that the project could 1) bring some visibility and recognition to people who are trying to help families; 2) focus public attention on things that work for a change; and 3) if it received press coverage, it might serve to create links between management personnel. Two work place forums have been held thus far. Final results are not in but they are encouraging.

In terms of work and families directly, it is obvious that the effect of the workplace on families, and vice versa, is gaining increasing interest among the public, corporations and government. The White House Conference on Families, for example, did more than just argue about abortion. To the surprise of many people, it listed workplace issues as first priority. In the corporate sector, there are increasing examples of large national organizations which are taking leadership. Control Data in Minnesota offers an incredible set of family benefits from flex-time to child care to part time work. They are convinced that these benefits are helpful to the bottom line as well as to families. TRW has lead the way in the use of cafeteria fringe benefits where one has choices among fringe benefits depending on the stage of the family life cycle. Stride Rite and others have done things in child care. I spoke to a conference at the New York Day Care Council held for corporations who were interested in child care, and 75 corporations were there. Fifteen were turned away. Attending a conference is obviously different from doing something, but it is a first step. So I think there is a growing recognition that this is an area that needs attention. And in government, there has been a silent revolution in terms of support for child care. The tax credit for child care now provides more than a billion dollars of support for families who have children in child care and has grown without any of the volatile divisive ideological fights about whether it is destroying the American family or not. And the recent tax bill which not only improved the credits available to individual families but made child care benefits nontaxable to the corporations that provide them, means that the corporation does not have to compute or impute the value of what it is providing and then pay social security and unemployment payments on that. Corporations know now that every dollar that they put into child care will

go to child care without hidden taxes on it. I think this will make a difference in making child care available. There is a lot of hope and there are also some barriers and problems. The issue of work and family is not yet on the list of top ten problems that most corporate executive officers worry about. We need hard data on whether child care really does help productivity. Even with the barriers, you cannot argue with the demographic trend. I read recently that, within two decades, half of all employees will be parents of children under the age of 18 and that in two out of three of these cases, the other parent will also be employed. Ten percent of these workers will be single parents and 85 percent of the female employees entering the task force in the 80's and 90's will become pregnant at some point in their careers. So work and family will be even more closely connected in the future. What that suggests to me is that a majority of employees of today and tomorrow will be less available to corporations than before, less available for routine long hours, for overtime, for extensive travel on short notice and more dependent on child care, schools operating without interruptions, etc. We need to find ways to help employees balance their responsibilities as workers and as parents. We need to do that for employees as individuals and family members and we need to do that for the businesses for whom they work. These pressures are real. Many, if not all of us, know them and they are difficult to judge and to reconcile.

In our flex-time study, we brought some of the families together in the evening to talk about their problems and challenges. I want to share with you a quote from one father, a lawyer who was describing the tensions that he felt between work and family because it illustrates a kind of common theme. He was explaining why the balance usually tips in favor of work when he is feeling the competition. He said, "In the law firm you have a wide lattitude about when you put the hours in but not about how many there are. The work makes clear objective demands on you and the penalties, if you don't meet them, are clear and obvious. There are a lot of satisfactions to be garnered from married life and a lot to make you happy, but the demands, requests and pleas your family gives you are not quite so clear and obvious. The penalties are not quite so immediate." That is a very good statement. Families are long-time investments. We feel those tensions but we feel them in differing degrees and with different immediacy.

Looking to the future, work and family issues are going to become more important. While it is a complicated way to look at it, I expect we will see more of the concept of variable fringe benefits or cafeteria fringe benefits where there are some benefits available to all employees and others to choose from up to a certain level of cost to accommodate various needs. I expect that we will see more corporate supportive child care, which is not to say corporations building child care facilities in their offices or plants but a variety of means that they can provide support, such as vouchers, etc. I think we will see government seed money in small amounts to help corporations and unions plan different ways to provide support for families. But in all these areas, progress will be made more quickly depending on the skill and effectiveness of the people advocating changes. That is true in the public sector and in the private sector.

Making It Happen

I would like to turn to the third sector of interest to me which applies primarily to public areas, but not exclusively. I would point out that the government is the single largest employer in this country and can serve as a model or should serve as a model in reducing the sources of family/work conflict. This is an area where advocates for families, and I speak as one of them, have not been strong and I would like to talk about the difference between making a recommendation and making it happen. We are quite good at the former and our success on the latter is mixed. I have a list of suggestions which is nonexclusive and certainly not without room for improvement, but I hope it will suggest some things that you might already be doing and some things that you might consider doing. Hopefully, my suggestions will assist you in breaking down the problems of advocacy and political effectiveness into practical size.

1) We need to provide accurate information, cost benefit information when available and hard data whenever possible when we are talking to a corporate executive, a member of Congress, or a state legislator. When we have an idea, we need to say more than "it is good for families." We need to explain it in common sense terms.

2) We have to recognize the delicacy, especially in the public arena about any suggestion of government intrusion or interference and into the "private family life." I suspect that some corporations have hesitancy about that or about being perceived that way or being attacked that way. That is a fact of life. As politicians will tell you, facts are important, but just as important are peoples' perceptions of the facts.

3) We need to identify who makes the decision on the issue we care about. Sometimes government can be a real maze and we need to penetrate that maze, understand it and go to the source.

4) We have to present our case in human terms, along with the information, the hard data. Theories, statistics, and beliefs are all important, but politicians as human beings respond most to human stories—something you have experienced. In my experience, that is when you connect with people.

5) We need to reach out to those who do not already believe as we do. As someone said, stop preaching only to the converted. It is important to have our networks, to be in touch and to make joint strategies, but it is more important to go out beyond our safe and comfortable environment and the people who share our views and go to places we do not usually go.

6) We need to build coalitions around a single issue, not around our entire political philosophy. Let us take one issue at a time and work with those who agree with us.

7) We need to compliment those who support what we are working for. It is true that politicians get a hundred letters of complaint for every one of praise. That may be the right ratio for some politicians, depending on your view point, but for most of them, it is dramatically out of balance. Send a thank you note to a politician and he or she will read it and remember. We ought to write a letter to the editor of the local newspaper commending a congressman that provides real leadership on issues important to our community, and then we should send a clipping to the congressman.

8) We ought to visit our representatives in their own districts and our own district. They listen much better at home than when they are in the state capitol or in Washington D.C. When we talk with them, we ought to invite them to visit our pro-

grams and to see what the programs are like.

9) We need to get involved in the elective political process. That is the bottom line of politics. If we want someone to be there when we need them, we should be there when they need us, and that is at election time. There are never enough volunteers. Do not be scared that you will be turned away. Be scared that you will be offered the post of campaign treasurer down the road.

10) I will close with the tenth point which is called—staying power. Politicians respect winners, and they also respect, at least as much, losers who keep coming back until they get what they need. It is amazing what tenacity alone will get in the political process. It is hard to have that staying power. It is hard to come back from a loss. It is hard not to feel powerless at times and there are a lot of reasons for that, one of which is that many of us are trained from day one to be observers rather than participants, especially of the governmental process. But if we are going to succeed we must keep coming back and back and back.

Families and Work: A View of the Future

Sharon Y. Nickols

As the United States celebrated its bicentennial and rounded the corner into the closing decades of the twentieth century, examination of major institutions within the society has occurred. Through events related to the White House Conference on Families that took place in 1979 and 1980, the importance and diversity of family life in the contemporary United States has been explored. Simultaneously, several studies of the changing nature of work in our changing society have been underway. These studies examined changes in the workforce (American Council of Life Insurance, no date), alternative employment schedules (Work in America Institute, 1981), corporations and two-career families (Career and Family Center, 1981), and attitudes of various groups toward the benefits and stresses resulting from balancing family life and employment (General Mills, 1981). In each study, concern regarding the future directions of two of the most fundamental systems within American Society—families and work—is expressed.

We have examined the topic of Families and Work throughout this conference. In many respects, we are like Banquo, one of the noblemen in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, who states:

> "If you can look into the seeds of time
> And say which grain will grow and which will not,
> Speak then to me ...."

We have examined the historical roots of the current relationship between families and work. We have asked which hybrids among the innovations in the workplace will best serve families. We continue this examination by looking for the sprouts of trends which will assist us in glimpsing a view of the future regarding families and work.

Using Shakespeare's phrase "the seeds of time," there are three "grains" that seem especially relevant to me when considering the future of families and work. These three "grains" are already planted among the "seeds of time." Some are germinating; some have sprouted and are now bearing fruit. Some people are pleased with what they see growing from these grains and others suggest that what has sprouted are weeds that should be plucked from our society. The three grains that I examine are first, patterns of women's employment; second, demography; and third, trends in family composition.

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Patterns of Women's Employment

The rapid entry of women into the labor market has been called the "single most outstanding phenomenon of the century" (Eli Ginzberg quoted in American Council of Life Insurance, no date, p. 3). Most of this shift has occurred in recent years, not at the beginning of the century. From 1910 through 1940, U.S. women's labor force participation rate remained mostly stable at around 25 percent. During each successive decade, the proportion of women in the labor force has moved steadily upward, reaching 52 percent of all women over age 20 by the end of 1981 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1982). These are not cold, bland statistics; behind each figure are changed relationships, identities, attitudes, and values. It has been said that for society as a whole, the changing pattern of women's employment represents a "subtle revolution" (Smith, 1979).

Jessie Bernard explains how this subtle revolution occurs. Bernard (1975) says that the point at which the 50 percent level of employment of women was reached is a "tipping point." She describes the period of time associated with a tipping point as a time of normlessness in which there is a lack of consensus regarding values and expected behavior. Previous expectations for behavior are diminishing in importance, but they have yet to be completely replaced by a new set of norms.

In the late 1970s the United States achieved *two* tipping points—now over 50 percent of women are in the labor force and over 50 percent of married couples are dual-earner families. We are currently experiencing the phenomena associated with such times of transition. This period of time is especially bewildering to some groups, because both men's and women's roles in family and paid employment systems are in flux. Assumptions about the division of labor are challenged as women enter occupations previously considered the exclusive domain of men and as men opt to spend more time in activities not associated with employment. Expectations regarding how the work of the home and care of children are to be accomplished are also undergoing change.

The entry of women into the labor force initially added to the length of their average workweek, resulting in substantially longer workdays for employed wives compared to husbands and non-employed wives (Walker and Woods, 1976). Employed women, in effect, held two jobs—one outside the home for which they received a pay check and another unpaid job at home as the producer of household goods and services. A recent national study indicates that the length of workweeks of men and women are converging (Stafford, 1980). Time budgets collected from 210 Oklahoma families in 1977-78 show non-employed wives' workdays averaging nearly two hours less than husbands workdays, while husbands and both full-time and part-time employed wives had workdays of almost equal length—an average of 9.4 hours (Fox and Nickols, 1981).

The rate of change in men's roles in the family has been slower than the relatively more rapid rate of change in women's roles in paid employment. This lack of synchronization between men's and women's role changes has contributed to stress for both sexes. However, conscious examination of family and employment roles—patterns once taken for granted—indicate that new norms are in the process of being established.

We are generally aware of the "seeds of time" related to the entry of increased numbers of women regardless of age, marital relationship, or motherhood status, into the paid labor force and of the changes this has set in motion for families. We are less aware of other "seds of time" that have been planted more recently. These seeds also fall in the category of patterns of women's employment and they have their origin in the educational choices made by women in the decade of the 70s.

In 1980, women comprised 50.7 percent of the enrollment in colleges and universities of the United States (Brown, 1981), another "tipping point." Women continue to dominate the fields of education, library science, and home economics as they did when they were a minority of college students. Women are approaching a majority of the majors in psychology, fine and applied arts, and public affairs. However, it is in the non-traditional fields, those in which women accounted for less than one-sixth of the degrees awarded in 1971, that the most dramatic changes in women's enrollment have occurred.

The National Center for Education Statistics (Brown, 1981) reports that between 1971 and 1979, women have gone from 12 percent to 26 percent of the degree recipients in architecture and environmental design, from nine percent to 31 percent of the degree recipients in engineering. In the field of dentistry, women received one percent of the degrees awarded in 1971 compared to 11 percent in 1979. In the theological professions, two percent of the degrees were awarded to women in 1971 contrasted to 13 percent in 1979. Women received nine percent of the M.D. degrees in 1971, while in 1979, 23 percent of these medical degrees were earned by women. In veterinary medicine eight percent of the D.V.M. degrees went to women in 1971, contrasted to 29 percent that were earned by women in 1979. These trends are indeed a subtle revolution.

As these "budding" professionals become practicing veterinarians, physicians, ministers, engineers, and accountants, our consumer decisions, and those made by other individuals and families, will determine the professional destinies of these women and the economic well-being of their families. While young professional women can help to relieve the past shortage of professionals in certain occupations, their presence in many communities raises to conscious level long-held values and norms about men's and women's roles. Do the families in rural communities support the new female vocational agriculture teacher as avidly as they supported the former male vocational agriculture teacher? How are congregations responding to women who are assigned as ministers to their churches? If the only physician in the county is a woman, will families use her services, or will they spend extra energy, time, and money to seek medical care from a male physician located elsewhere? These are some of the values questions which are emerging for our society.

To summarize this first "grain," the view of the future regarding patterns of women's employment indicates that among those already in the paid workforce, labor force attachment is growing stronger, and more women are likely to join those already in the labor force. These patterns increasingly solicit supportive responses from families who spend part of the resources they earn to facilitate the employment roles of family members, and who redistribute the work of the home or eliminate some of it. To date, families have made relatively few organized demands upon the employment system to accommodate change in women's employment patterns. However, as dual-

earner families "tip" the balance of family lifestyles and become the majority, proposals to support the family as an institution will have greater impact upon employment systems.

Demography and Employment Expectations

The second "seed of time" that is sprouting changes in the workforce, employment arrangements, and families is based in the demographic profile of the United States. The unequal distribution of people throughout the various stages of the lifespan influences who is available for employment, and thus, the composition of the labor force. By counting the noses of Americans already born, we can speculate about how shifts in the population will impact families and work.

A popular concept for understanding how citizens are distributed across the various age cohorts is the population pyramid. The typical population pyramid is characterized as having a relatively broad base composed of children and then a tapering off of the pyramid as one moves upward to older and older age groups that comprise smaller proportions of the population. An update of the population profile of the United States describes it as having the shape of the Washington Monument, because a larger proportion of our population is distributed in the older age groups and the proportion who are children has shrunk dramatically, thus narrowing the base. The post-World War II generation, or "baby boom" as they are often called, presents a unique demographic phenomenon. The movement of this generation through the stages of the life span has been vividly described by staff of the Census Bureau as "the pig in a python." Buldges occur as this generation moves through the population pyramid.

The post-World War II generation is swelling the ranks of the labor force. Between now and the 1990s there will be a demographic bunching of persons in the prime-age employment years, ages 25 to 44. In 1975, there were 39 million workers in this age bracket; by 1990 there will be 60.5 million (Rosow, 1979). Older workers, 55 years and over, and younger workers, 16 to 24 years of age, will be a minority of the work force. Based on reduced birth rates which began around 1960, it is projected that the youth labor force will continue to decrease between 1985 and 1995 (Fullerton, 1980). What are the implications of these demographic facts for expectations of family and employment systems?

The bulge of workers in their prime employment years compete for promotions, professional recognition, and supervisory responsibilities which are typical aspects of advancement through the ranks of an occupation. At the same time, moving the mandatory retirement age to 70 years has allowed some workers to stay in jobs from which they otherwise would have retired. However, anticipated bottlenecks in promotion systems may have been offset by the growing number of individuals who voluntarily chose early retirement, more flexible employment arrangements, and retraining for second careers. The attention given to the rapid increase in women's labor force participation rates has overshadowed the long-term trend of declining labor force participation rates of men. For example, between 1970 and 1980, the participation rate dropped from 86 to 75 percent for husbands age 55 to 64 (Johnson and Waldman, 1981).

The American Council on Life Insurance trend report on the changing nature of work speculates that work-life patterns will vary increasingly with the individual. With the knowledge that they will likely enjoy a longer life than their counterparts a few decades earlier and faced with intense competition from their "baby boom" contemporaries, some husbands may set aside their middle years to prepare for and pursue second careers. A recent follow-up study of wives in dual-career families indicates that they made significant career contributions, but these generally came somewhat later in life (Poloma, Pendleton, and Garland, 1981). Perhaps these wives are in a financial and career position secure enough to support their husband's job recycling.

The current economic recession and the philosophy of the present administration is contributing to voluntary and involuntary work-sharing. In federal employment, this takes the form of mandatory "sabbatical days" that are unpaid reductions in the workweek. Private business has been somewhat more innovative in sharing work hours across the workforce in order to retain skilled workers. Under work-sharing plans, families generally experience reductions in take home pay, but this is more readily accommodated than unemployment of the family bread-winners. Because such a large proportion of the labor force are prime age workers, their attachment and experiences in the workforce, and how these relate to the family, must be a major concern through the remainder of this century in developing economic and employment policies. As this group ages, they (and their families) place increased demands upon benefit systems, such as pensions, associated with past employment.

Trends in Family Composition

The final "seed of time" that I believe is particularly relevant for families and work is trends in family composition. Reading the headings of an early report of the 1980 Census (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1981) is like reading a litany on the American family in transition:

- Average number of births per woman is down early in the decade, but has increased in the last five years
- Childlessness has increased among young married couples.
- More young women are remaining single and postponing marriage.
- The divorce rate continues to rise.
- An increasing proportion of children are in one-parent families.
- Families comprised of husband/wife/children are a minority of U.S. households. (They account for less than one-third—31 percent—of households.)
- Households shared by two unrelated adults of opposite sex nearly tripled during the decade.
- Non-family households increased substantially.

Other sources indicate that about 41 percent of all marriages currently contracted, compared to 30 percent in 1970, involve at least one partner who has been previously married (Furstenberg, 1980). The formation of "reconstituted" or "blended" families is increasingly prevalent. What are the likely products of these "seeds of time" for families and work?

As a larger proportion of the population experiences change in family lifestyles over their personal life span, the interface of self, family, and work systems will become increasingly complex. Various stresses that occur in a cyclical manner at specific stages of personal, family, and career development, such as promotion on the job, birth of the first child, and the ticking of the "biological clock," may coincide in the lives of husband and wife. These events challenge family members' abilities to make decisions that result in long-term benefits and to manage the oftentimes conflicting demands of families and work. (See Schein, 1978, chapter 5 "The States, Stages, and Tasks of the Family" for discussion of the complexity of these system interfaces.)

As more couples join the ranks of dual-earner families, either with or without children as a part of their households, experiences on the job will affect family members in ways different from the past. Sexual harassment or barriers to membership in employment-related organizations take on alternative meanings for men when the victim is one's wife or daughter.

Emerging family structures, such as the reconstituted family and its on-going linkages to previous families, impact employment systems. For example, family expectations that benefit coverage for health insurance and educational assistance programs apply to members of the current nuclear family and the children of two previous marriages may place pressure on the resources of employing institutions. Such relationships between families and work are likely to become more complicated in the future.

Innovations on the job, such as job sharing and flex-time, are nothing new for the family. Farm families and "Mom and Pop" business enterprises are the original sites for job sharing. These families invented flexible work hours. Business and industry would benefit from studying management strategies in these families.

Each emerging family lifestyle presents opportunities for innovation in the workplace and the community. The climate is right for a wide diversity of "grains" in the fields of families and work to grow.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to change from using literature to technology as the source of imagery for my comments. The Gateway Arch, built on the banks of the Mississippi River in St. Louis, Missouri is the image I would like you to have in mind. The Gateway Arch is a soaring structure that reaches into the sky, representing the forward movement of the United States into the western frontier.

My family drove through St. Louis while moving from Kansas to New York City in 1965 when the arch was under construction. Two massive foundations had been built and each side of the future arch jutted upward. They were not yet connected and to the untrained eye, it looked like the two sides of the arch might never meet.

As I observe families and work in 1982, it appears to me that they are like the Gateway Arch in 1965. Each provides a major foundation in the values structure of the culture of the United States. Each values foundation is building toward the future; but it is not yet clear whether these two systems will meet in the structural and aesthetic harmony of the arch. This conference and our continued efforts to reconcile the conflicting demands of families and work are building blocks toward the future.

I hope the future will be like the Gateway Arch, a creation in which the worlds of families and work are in balance and harmony, and where each supports the other.

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The Role of the Homemaker in Families and Work

Mary Lou Thompson

"Who are you?" said the Caterpillar. Alice replied, rather shyly, "I—I hardly know, sir, just at the present—at least I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I must have changed several times since then." So said Alice many years ago in *Alice In Wonderland* and, possibly, so says Alice the Homemaker today. For the first time in the life of the homemaker, greater demands and expectations are placed on her because times are changing faster than ever. There is not a clear cut role for the homemaker today so she changes as the picture changes. To paraphrase Erma Bombeck who said, "Nothing is more misunderstood than 'One Size Fits All' ",—nothing is more misunderstood than the role of the homemaker.

Yesterday, our dinner speaker, Ellen Chitwood, told a story of Rex the dinosaur and how he was unwilling to change and, thus, became extinct. She said, "When you don't change with change, you face extinction." I want to introduce you to "Rexetta" the homemaker, who is and will always be changing: thus, she will survive.

Four specific areas are currently placing greater demands and expectations on "Rexetta the Homemaker" causing her to become a quick change artist. They are: 1) family; 2) work (as it relates to the homemaker at home and the husband at work); 3) society; and 4) the economy.

Family

The family of the past was represented by father—the bread winner; mother—at home providing love, nurturance and shelter; and the children—the center or heart of the family. With the onslaught of personal freedom, drugs, 'do your own thing', and 'I've got to find myself,' the family's solid foundation began to show signs of cracking. The role of the homemaker changed. The cracks increased as the children moved from the center to the extremity and sometimes became a threat to the family. The "me" decade was ushered in. The feeling permeated the solidarity of the family and the idea surfaced that the individual counted more. Thus, inner peace and contentment could only be derived from knowing oneself and doing what one believed best, regardless of the family unit. The role of the homemaker changed.

Divorce became more acceptable, children questioned the sanctity of the home, and the homemaker was caught in the middle. The pressure of changing roles for the homemaker began to show up in "runaway mothers", alcoholism, tranquilizers and a break down in communication within the family. Today, the homemaker is

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changing once again, seeking answers or support systems either in seminars on goal setting, change, stress, drugs, parenting, skills for living, interpersonal relationships, and communication. She is also returning to college to take courses that meet her needs and interests. 'Rexetta the Homemaker' is turning to membership in organizations such as AAUW to help meet her needs in these changing times.

The homemaker no longer spends a major part of her life rearing children because she has fewer children than her great grandmothers. Some homemakers choose not to have children at all, which was unthinkable several generations ago. So once again there is a need to change to a different life style.

Work

I grew up in a family that only moved two times in nineteen years and the move was only two blocks away. My father worked for the same company for thirty-five years and his father helped build the company many years before him. The idea of being transferred by a company was a new concept for me. Today, some companies systematically transfer employees every two years or less. I have many friends that have come and gone. Some lived in Tulsa less than a year, while some lived in Tulsa several years. Most, however, did not live in Tulsa more than five years. One couple with a major oil company moved twelve times in nineteen years and they have three children. "Rexetta" once again had to become a quick change artist to survive.

The emotional impact of moving, becoming established in a new community, finding the necessary doctors, schools, shopping areas, and the reassurance necessary for the children to adjust properly challenges the homemaker and her ability to change.

Some companies are insensitive to the demands placed on the homemaker in this situation, but many are beginning to reexamine their transfer programs and to place greater importance on its impact on families.

The workplace is changing, too, with more and more cutbacks, layoffs, and closings. Once again, the economic picture of the future is unclear and the homemaker must find ways to provide stability in the home, to assist the family in adjusting to change in order to survive.

Society

In years past, the message society sent to the homemaker was how valuable a role it was to stay home and keep house, raise the children, and keep the home fires burning. The message was an offer of permanency. Today, society is sending out a conflicting message and, once again, the homemaker is challenged to reconsider her role. The new message is of a temporary or part-time position and Rexetta, the homemaker, now feels pressured by the emphasis on the "working woman." The women's movement has made a definite impact on the image of the homemaker. Years ago, a woman was proud to announce that she was a housewife, but society began to devalue that noble profession and women began saying, "I'm just a housewife." Today, women are meeting the challenge and their attitudes are changing, due largely to the fact that they are choosing to be homemakers and are proud

of their contribution to society. Martha Griffiths once said that, "If women's work is not valued in the home, it has low value outside the home." Society is now placing a greater demand on the homemaker to fulfill the volunteer roles in the community. With more mothers working outside the home, the full-time homemaker has greater demands on her time and is, therefore, being more selective. With federal programs being cut, a larger responsibility of community service will be required of the homemaker. But with these new opportunities comes the possibility to conquer new horizons, and provide a service to help make the community a better place for her family to live and grow. What better way to be remembered, than "she made this a better place to live because she gave of her time and talents—and she cared."

Economy

One of the biggest threats to the homemaker today is the economic situation in this country. *Money talks* and it is telling the homemaker to change once again and get paid for her work and worth. One of the major stress areas in families today is MONEY. The need to buy a new car or home can now bring about a very stressful situation in the family. So Rexetta is required to take a long, hard look at herself and justify staying at home and not bringing in added income to meet the rising cost of living. She must have an ample supply of self worth to meet the challenge to remain in the role of full-time homemaker and feel she is making her best contribution.

An emerging problem in the economic picture of the family is the growing need to provide care for elderly parents. When a nursing home or retirement center expense is added to the household budget, it can sometimes be the final blow. The homemaker once again may be required to change her role by providing nursing care in the home, by providing room and board, or by seeking part-time employment to supplement the single income.

The Future

What will the future offer to full-time homemakers? It is anybody's guess, but in my opinion homemakers will not need to limit their thinking about what they can do. There are successful small businesses today that started in a homemaker's kitchen, garage, sewing room, or arts and crafts class. It takes a willingness to risk and the self-confidence to believe you can be a success. This is a plus for the future!

The homemaker will continue to play a vital role in transmitting the culture from one generation to the next. Margaret Mead said, "All culture exists in families and if families cease to exist, we have no culture." In our culture the home and family have been recognized as the major unit of socialization. It will be up to the homemakers to continue to play a vital role in the survival of the human beings on this planet; for no one can function well without a home to turn to for nurture and rest.

An explosion of family life education programs is a positive force in the future of the family. Often educational programs provide the support and direction needed. A possible consequence of the increased emphasis on parenting and family life education is that more men will accept and enjoy greater responsibilities in this area.

The future picture of the homemaker is that there is not a clear picture. There will be a greater demand on the homemaker's being a proficient juggler—juggling

free time, money, household responsibilities, care of the aged parents, volunteer responsibilities and her own self enrichment. "Rexetta" will meet the demands of change and she will survive.

In closing I'd like to share a favorite poem which I clipped from Ann Lander's column.

Just a Housewife

Hello, Mrs. Jones, I've just called to say,
I'm sorry I cried when you phoned today.
No, I didn't get angry when your call came at 4:00,
Just as eight Cub Scouts burst through the door;
It's just that I had such a really full day.
I'd baked eight pies for the PTA.
And washing and ironing and scrubbing the floor
Were chores I had finished not too long before.
The reason I cried and gave a big yelp
Was not 'cause you phoned just to ask for my help.
The comment that just about drove me berserk
Was, "I'm sure you'll have time because you don't work."

Sign me, *A Happy Homemaker*

PART TWO:
CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Conflicting Demands of Families and Work: A Perennial Problem in Mental Health

Resource Person: Theda Starr
Oklahoma Department of Mental Health
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Reactor: David Fournier
Department of Family Relations and Child Development
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

In looking at work and families and the conflicting demands, I started thinking about myself. I wonder if any of you have thought of who you really are and what you really are. You are busy with your work and with your families. I hope that you will begin looking at that by the end of our session. It is real important to look at yourselves and your family. I would like for you to list the five most important things that happened to you and your family this past year. In another column, list important things that you have said to your family members this past year. Now compare the lists. Is there any linkage? Is any relationship apparent to you? Maybe all of the things that you considered important occurred at work.

When we look at families, we generally think of two important roles that families have. The most vital and primary one is the support system that we receive when we are borne into a family. An individual's basic needs are met by the family. Who do we call when something happens? We usually call the family. Another role for the family is that it is an essential group where a child, with no potential developed, begins to grow and develop. It is where the child's functions and everything take place or may not take place.

In the times which we live, families are in transition. Family traditions are not as they used to be. I served on an advisory committee for juveniles in trouble in Shawnee and Judge Carter would continue to ask, "What is going wrong in our families?" As I looked around at my own dinner table with only one child present, I realized that we have so many diversions and activities that family traditions are being displaced.

Statistics show us that in 1930, a child spent three to four hours per day in interaction with his family. Last year, a teenager spent 14½ minutes per day in interaction with parents, 12½ of which related to problem areas or correcting them, which left two minutes for positive interaction (providing there was no trauma left over from the 12½ minutes).

Stephen Glenn has done research on successful families for 20 years. I want to share what Glenn found. He noted that successful families "think small." By this he meant that successful families do small things effectively and consistently well. The time spent with a five through seven-year-old child is going to be very important in preparing youth to handle the peer influences that parents of teens ponder and worry about. One cannot catch up after they are 13. The key is to spend time with them while they are small.

It takes more energy to teach a child to perform a task for himself than to do it for him, but the rewards are greater. I am going to list seven significant steps that I believe family members who work outside the home can use to enhance the quality of their family time:

1) Strengthen or develop intrapersonal skills. Examine your feelings. Ask your child, "How did that make you feel?" There is a difference between feelings and thinking. If you do not control your feelings, they will start controlling you. We have to talk about our feelings.

2) Strengthen or develop interpersonal skills. Learn to deal effectively with others. Listen. Really listen.

3) Strengthen or develop the skills of handling situations. Assuming the responsibility for what is happening to you or what you have caused to happen to someone else is most important.

4) Develop judgemental skills. We need to learn to make decisions and recognize what is going on. We need to teach our children to think for themselves. They do not learn to do that by watching television.

5) Develop problem solving abilities.

6) Strengthen identification with and responsibility for family processes. You become part of something that is bigger than yourself. You have heard of the French Connection—this is the "family connection."

7) Strengthen identification with viable role models. This has to do with the self concept. You learn to see yourself as the kind of person who is "making it" and you identify with others who are making it also.

Fournier:

One of the biggest problems that we have is to help marriage counselors and mental health professionals identify important conflict areas that individuals and families experience. At this time, we have only general ideas. We are generally unaware, for example, of the conflicts between families and work. The primary dilemma that we find ourselves in is that work is dependent on family, and family is dependent on work. One cannot function without the other. We have a competing and a cooperative relationship between family and work. Whenever there is a dependent relationship involved, there are conflicts.

In looking at married couples, aside from communication and lack of understanding which is the number one problem, the number two and number three problems have to do with roles. The number two problem is internal role conflict where the individual has difficulty living up to self-perceived role expectations. The number three

problem is the joint conflict over role definitions or the ways in which roles are carried out by each spouse. The steps listed of developing inter-and intrapersonal skills. are extremely important in these areas of role conflict. Couples must communicate and share their feelings if their marriage is to remain intact and successful. Those that learn to share and vent their feelings are more able to take the strains of the workplace and the family and spread out those strains somewhat, thus avoiding some of the physical disorders such as high blood pressure and heart problems.

Conflicting Demands of Sex Roles and Work

Resource Person: Glenna Matthews
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Reactor: Jay Dee Patrick
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In trying to give a comprehensive overview of the subject of sex roles and work, I want to make two principal points: 1) sex roles are very flexible among cultures and have been over time in our own culture; 2) the ideology prescribing what is appropriate behavior for women has had a tremendous impact on patterns of female employment and on the treatment that women have received in the workplace.

A good starting place for a discussion of this topic is the light shed by a recent anthropological study. In the introductory chapter of a fine collection of essays, *Woman, Culture and Society,* Michelle Rosaldo (1974) gives a theoretical overview of sex roles from a cross-cultural perspective. Citing the work of generations of anthropologists, she demonstrates that in some cultures it is deemed natural for men to be emotional, in some women are the traders, and so on. Yet she also says:

> But there are limits to variation. Every known society recognizes and elaborates some differences between the sexes, and although there are groups in which men wear skirts and women wear pants or trousers, it is everywhere the case that there are characteristic tasks, manners, and responsibilities primarily associated with women or with men....But what is perhaps most striking and surprising is the fact that male, as opposed to female, activities are always recognized as predominantly important, and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men. (p. 18)

In other words, sexual asymmetry seems to be virtually universal.

Given the flexibility of sex roles—albeit within limits—we next need to establish a periodization for its evolution in our own society. We can begin in the middle ages. All the most recent scholarship indicates that sex roles in agricultural societies are much less rigidly prescribed than was the case when "modernization" began to take place in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Women in medieval cities show up in a variety of occupations such as alewife, bakeress, and poultry seller. For the vast majority of women who were rural, there was an intermingling of male and female spheres. Susan Bell, an independent scholar working in conjunction with the Center for Research on Women at Stanford, makes a convincing case for this point on the basis of a collection of thousands of slides she has amassed pertaining to sex roles in pre-modern Europe. She combed books and art galleries for visual representations of ordinary lives. She found the repeated depiction of women doing field work, laboring side by side with men in a variety of ways. The productive unit was the household, and most family members past young childhood were expected to make a contribution. Clearly, some tasks were primarily female—one thinks of spinning—but to counterbalance this was the practical necessity for women to perform a great variety of tasks. Summing up the state of the art of European women's history as of a few years ago, Natalie Davis put it this way:

> Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change. Our goal is to explain why sex roles were sometimes tightly prescribed and sometimes fluid, sometimes markedly asymmetrical and sometimes more even.[1]

An early scholar of women in the colonial American South also found a great variety in female occupations. In *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, Julia Cherry Spruill (1938) catalogues such female occupations as tavern hostess, printer, publisher, teacher, actress, and so on. More recent scholars have questioned the representativeness of some of Spruill's examples. Nonetheless, although such options may not have been available to large numbers of women, the fact that they were available at all must be borne in mind. A frontier could create both opportunity and hardship. Spruill quotes William Byrd about a backwoods woman:

> She is a very civil woman and shews nothing of ruggedness, or immodesty in her carriage, yett she will carry a gunn in the woods and kill deer, turkeys, etc., shoot down wild cattle, catch and ty hoggs, knock down beeves with an ax and perform the most manful exercises as well as most men in these parts. (p. vi)

Clearly, this woman was not limited by an ideology of woman's proper sphere.

But sex roles respond to other changes in a society and the early 19th century was a period of very rapid change in a number of ways. In the first place, industrializa-

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[1]N. Z. Davis. *Women's history in transition: The European case.* Paper presented at the Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Radcliffe College, October 1974, p. 13.

tion began to create discrete spheres of male and female activity. Man's work moved to the office, the shop, and the factory, while the home became woman's domain to a much more thoroughgoing extent. Furthermore, the breakdown of the apprenticeship system meant that the home became an increasingly private place. A husband and wife were much less likely to have a group of young workers living under the same roof with them. Indeed, as the values of the marketplace invaded realms of American life, the home seemed the one realm than could be preserved free of such influence. Accordingly, it was sentimentalized as it had never been before and has never been since. Woman began to be idolized as the keeper of the sacred hearth. In short, the early 19th century saw the birth of an ideology of domesticity that gave women a central role in the culture but at the same time prescribed a very narrow role relative to what had been the case in the 18th century.

A brilliant biography of Catharine Beecher by Kathryn Kish Sklar (1976) demonstrates how one woman of the day seized on many of these ideas to bolster the ideology in ways she assumed would benefit all women. A leading educator and a progenitor of the home economics movement, Beecher argued that this narrow sphere could be individually and socially redemptive:

> She also defined the parlor as a cultural podium and described the home not as the place isolating women from political and social influence, but as the base from which their influence on the rest of the culture was launched... Catherine Beecher offered them dominance in the domestic sphere where their lives were centered and promised them a moral effect on much that lay outside that sphere. (p. 137)

But at the same time that the ideology of domesticity was establishing its hegemonic sway over American culture and the "Cult of True Womanhood" began to be promulgated (Welter, 1966) there were counter-tendencies at work. Opportunities for gainful employment for women opened up in the new textile mills of New England, for example, and the young farm women who filled the jobs were in fact defying cultural norms. According to Dublin (1979), this defiance was camouflaged by their residence in dormitories and by the mill owners' deliberate effort to invest the mill workers' lives with some of the trappings of gentility. Furthermore, some of the impact of the change was mitigated by the transitory nature of gainful employment for the first generation of women industrial workers. Most married and resumed the more usual female role after only a few years at Lowell. Nonetheless, a dynamic had been set in motion that would have a far-reaching impact. To cite only one consequence for the moment, the Irish immigrant women who comprised the second generation of female textile workers were much likelier to be working outside the home for a sustained period of time than were the first generation.

After the Civil War, a number of new occupations opened up for women, certain other occupations became feminized, and the number of gainfully employed women grew rapidly. Indeed, the number of women in the labor force tripled between 1880 and 1910. Let us deal with new occupations first. By this time there were thousands of women who had been able to obtain higher education. (Oberlin College admitted women in 1833 and Mt. Holyoke opened in 1836; others soon followed.) A small number of women were able to go into the professions, thus setting

important precedents. Nursing attracted growing numbers of women. In addition, college-educated women invented the calling of social work to create another employment option for themselves.

At the same time, the late 19th century saw two occupations metamorphose into women's jobs. Elementary school teaching and clerical work became virtual female monopolies. "By 1870, when national statistics were available for the first time, about 60 percent of teachers nationwide were female. The percentage of women slowly increased to 70 percent in 1900 and then to a peak of 86 percent in 1920. Thereafter, the percentage of men increased gradually..."[2] In earlier times teaching had never been so much the preserve of women as it became in the late 19th century.

As for secretarial work, the figures alone tell a dramatic story: in 1870 there were just under 10,000 women doing office work and by 1900 there were nearly 240,000 female clerical workers. This occupation provides a particularly interesting case study of the counterpoint of sex roles and work because its meteoric growth meant that the office was no longer a male domain and the transition was breathtakingly swift. In a paper entitled "The Life and Times of the Typewriter Girl," Karen Matthews explains:

> The reason why there was all this confusion over "woman's sphere in the business world" was that her having one was so very recent. According to the *New York Recorder* in 1897, "Ten years ago a woman visible in the flesh 'down town' was a natural curiosity." The woman clerical worker was a problem because when she first entered the office there were no rules of behavior regarding women in business situations, and these had to be invented. How should an employer treat his stenographer, like a business associate or like a young woman? And how should he pay her? Even if her work was as good as a man's, wasn't she sure to get married and leave him just when she was becoming valuable. These are the kinds of questions which came up over and over again in the stenography journals...[3]

These questions were being raised in many sectors of the economy in the late 19th century. With hundreds of thousands of women gainfully employed outside the home, most Americans continued to believe that a woman's place was in the home. Added to the pervasive asymmetry of value granted to male and female effort, there was created the perfect rationale for paying women less than men and for granting them generally less equal treatment. As verified by Jameson (1977) even many radicals of the period thought that the proper goal was to strive for a society in which all men earned enough to support their families comfortably, thus allowing the women to stay home. Only a tiny handful of Americans thought that women needed the independence they could achieve by being self-supporting. Among these was Charlotte Perkins Gilman who wrote extensively around the turn of the century and died in

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[2]D. B. Tyack and M. H. Strober. *Women and men in the schools: Toward a history of the sexual structuring of educational employment.* Unpublished manuscript, no date.

[3]K. Matthews. *The life and times of the typewriter girl: Typing and stenography in the United States, 1885-1905.* Unpublished manuscript, 1981, p. 30.

the 1930s. In *Women and Economics*, Gilman (1898) argued forcefully that women needed to be self-supporting.

We arrive at the 20th century. Most Americans have some sense of the forces that have created change in our own time. In particular, two world wars opened up unprecedented employment opportunities for women. By the mid-20th century, it became far more acceptable for married women to work outside the home. Since 1970 the number of gainfully employed women has soared again, and the trend has been in the direction not only of working wives but also of working mothers—even mothers of young children.

Yet as is well-known, inequities persist, and they have a great deal to do with ideological factors. Women continue to work in the "pink-collar ghetto," that is to say, women's jobs tend to be concentrated in certain areas that are defined as "female." Despite federal efforts to promote equal pay for equal work, women now earn on the average about 60 percent of what men earn. As long as the labor market is segmented and women's work is seen, by definition, as less valuable than men's work, this inequity will persist. Hence, "equal pay for comparable work" has become the new battle cry. Given the pervasiveness of the notion that women bear most of the domestic responsibilities and the vested interests that benefit from undervaluing female effort, the battle for equal pay will not be easy to win.

Patrick:

As I listened to Glenna, I thought back to 1943 when I was drafted in World War II. Things have changed since then. I had formed the opinion, as had everyone else, that it was improper for women to work. Women were to stay at home. Those that worked had the menial jobs and could seldom advance. Discrimination against women was the accepted thing. Unions discriminated against women and some unions even still discriminate against women today. Many unions will do anything to keep women out. Once the woman is in, however, she will receive the wage established for that position. If a woman does qualify for a position, she may be called a junior electrician, for example, so that her wages will not be as high as the man's.

We bargain for the worth of jobs, regardless of what sex is performing that job. Many men feel that the woman should not receive as much because she cannot perform the job as well; however, if we have bargained for an established rate, that is what the man or woman performing the job will receive.

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Families Under Stress: A Historical Perspective

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Something in all of us wants to believe that in the past, families were solid and stable and that if people experienced stress in other aspects of their lives, at least in their families they could find peace and order. Yet the historical record is far more complex than this simple-minded contrast between yesterday's tranquility and today's turbulence. When we look at American history over the last two centuries, we find that families have, indeed, been under stress as changing demographic patterns, new values, and outside forces have all placed strains on the family.

The impact of changing demographic patterns has been wide-ranging, but let me illustrate the problem by focusing on one aspect—the decline in fertility over the course of the nineteenth century. For white women who completed fertility, the average number of children per family has fallen from about seven in 1800 to about two today. Although many theories attempt to explain this phenomenon, the fact remains that we are still struggling with its implications today. For example, with the decline in fertility came a decline in childbearing years in general. Women in the eighteenth century, as Robert Wells pointed out, bore children over some 20 years of their lives. Today that figure has been cut by one-half. As a result, parents find themselves at

far younger ages with no children in the home. Almost 40 years elapsed before an eighteenth-century parent might expect to see his or her children gone. Today parents are free of childrearing duties within 20-25 years. This fact has created new possibilities but new tensions as well. By 1900, parents (especially mothers) faced a troubling situation—what to do with the remainder of their lives once the children had left home. Historically, we know almost nothing about how late nineteenth-century women faced this problem. Only recently, in conjunction with the feminist movement, have people directed attention to the needs and concerns of relatively young women whose children have grown up and left home.

Increases in life expectancy from the nineteenth to the twentieth century have meant that the average length of marriages (unbroken by divorce) has increased. Where once husbands and wives could expect their unions to be broken by death before all the children left home, today husbands and wives can expect twenty years together after the children are gone. The increase in longevity, the decline in fertility and the earlier end to childrearing, therefore, mean that old age without family present is today the norm. In the early nineteenth century, it was the exception.

This increase in longevity leads to another interesting point by supplying a fresh perspective on divorce. Although the divorce rate has risen dramatically—from 1890 to 1970 the number of divorces per 1,000 existing marriages rose from about one to 15 per year—the proportion of disrupted marriages has remained about the same. How so? Because, as demographers have shown, the rise in divorce almost exactly balanced out improvements in life expectancy so that the percentage of marriages being ended in any single year was almost the same in 1890 as in 1970. Marital instability is nothing new. Mortality did in the nineteenth century what divorce does in the twentieth. Perhaps, as Lawrence Stone has dryly suggested, divorce really is only the functional equivalent of death. This is not, of course, to suggest that the psychological pain is the same, only that marital instability and the tensions that accompany it are nothing new.

Just as changing demographic patterns have brought new stresses, so too, have changing values brought new stresses within the family. After about 1750, the modern (or companionate) family began to develop, and by 1900, its key values were established. This theory rejects the stereotypical view of the nineteenth-century family with its domineering husband and pliant wife and replaces it with one that emphasizes the mutual respect and affection within the nineteenth-century family. As other functions within the family declined, emotion and love became the center of the family's function. Moreover, the companionate family included a rise in the status of women within the home. Women sought greater autonomy within the family and expected husbands to treat them as coequals in the home, to ask their opinions on domestic matters, and to respect their sexual desires. The key values were companionship, collaboration, and conjugal unity.

While these values are recognizably modern and praise-worthy, their emergence created new tensions and stresses within the family. As the emotional importance of the family increased, relative ease of divorce became a necessity. In fact, divorce is an essential feature of the companionate system, for when love and emotional commitment wane and the family thus loses it *raison d'etre*, couples must have a way to legally end the union. Thus, the divorce crisis of the twentieth century is rooted

in the changes in values of the previous century. And, as Carl Degler has argued, women's drive for autonomy and individualism (first within and then outside the family) is a key theme in the emergence of the modern family—if the family is truly an emotional hothouse—then marriages will continue to break up.

Rising divorce rates were not the only consequence of the emergence of the companionate family. As women's status and sense of autonomy grew within the family, some women chafed against the restrictions of the domestic ideal. Domesticity, the imbuing of women's home duties with moral and psychological importance, developed in close relationship with the companionate ideal, but ultimately the restrictions of the domestic role became, for some women, unacceptable. While some wives found an outlet for their ambitions in reform work of one kind or another (and, in essence, made the world a large home), others who wanted to establish truly egalitarian marriages found it necessary to repudiate the domestic ideal. At this point, domesticity and the further elaboration of the companionate ideal parted company, but this challenge to the female ideal came not without great stress within families, stress revealed by rising divorce rates, widespread female invalidism, various psychological problems, and the like. The recurring debate about women's place in society, so evident in recent Oklahoma discussions about the Equal Rights Amendment, attests to the persistence of the conflict between women's responsibility to their families and to themselves. Women wrestled with this problem in the nineteenth century and they wrestle with it today.

But others also struggled with the implications of the new, "modern" family. Men, who commuted between the calculating world of work and the emotional world of the home, continually shifted psychological gears from that of the frugal and determined worker to the kind, affectionate companion. Meeting the demands of both roles created problems for husbands, and the basic question for men, first posed in the nineteenth century remains—how to reconcile the traditional role as providers, and the status and power that comes with that role, with women's insistence on emotional commitment and (later) social and economic equality.

Nor have the historic changes in the family left children unaffected. The modern family brought with it an elevation in the status of children but, likewise, new stresses. The apothesis of motherhood and the tendency to sentimentalize children, for example, only heightened sex role stereotypes about childrearing and increased the identification of women with children, thereby creating severe psychological and social problems for women who chose not to have children. Some have argued that the elevation of children brought with it state and professional intervention in families that eroded parental self-confidence. With children so highly valued, parents tried desperately to follow the latest childrearing fad, while feeling incompetent and fearing that they would somehow ruin their child's development.

The stresses that have accompanied changes in family values and demographic patterns have arisen, in many respects, from within the family itself; however, families have also encountered stress brought on by external factors. Whether in rural, urban, free, or slave settings, whether in moving from rural Europe to industrial America, from rural Illinois to industrial Chicago, from slave Virginia to free Virginia, the family has served as a cushion, a resource, a haven and a source of strength.

Herbert Gutman made this point in his study of the black family under slavery—despite the oppression of slave life, blacks forged a strong family life, a family life that endured the strains of the plantation. Studies of immigration show similar patterns. Immigrants confronted with new experiences and demands in America found strength in their families. Families were not, then, merely dependent variables in the face of urbanization and industrialization. Virginia McLaughlin found Italian immigrants maintaining traditional Old World family values within an advanced industrial city like Buffalo, New York. Family values in this case played an important role in determining work patterns; there was no immediate reorganization or demoralization of family life but rather, an adjustment.

Others have found similar patterns. A study of a New Hampshire textile mill emphasized the adaptability of family life to work in a factory town. The corporation, in fact, hired entire families, thereby heightening the ease of recruitment, housing and control of the labor force. Moreover, work in the factory continued earlier notions of the family as a productive unit. Workers even recruited their own kin for work. In short, as Tamara Hareven has argued, ethnic and kinship ties provided the major organizational scheme for the worker's adjustment to the pressures of industrial life. The ties of family and culture offered a common heritage, language, residential cohesion and religion to help make possible the adjustment to a new life.

Perhaps this evidence reveals only a truism, that institutions adapt to change. But I think it reveals more than this. It reveals that the family is an independent variable. It shapes its own destiny and yet is also altered by the culture around it. There is not automatic adaptation or simple fit. The family provides coherence to life and a set of values. It does not easily and simply abandon these values in the face of new circumstances.

What all of this evidence means is that superficial comparisons between today's allegedly threatened and yesterday's supposedly stable families will not suffice. Changes in demographic patterns and values created severe strains on the nineteenth-century family, as did slavery, immigration, industrialization and urbanization. In many respects, we are still trying to come to terms with these developments, a fact that suggests how serious and troubling these stresses must have been to earlier generations of Americans.

Mays:

The idea of the companionate family, with its greater autonomy for women within the family, certainly held true for those women seeking divorce in early twentieth century Payne County, Oklahoma. The stereotype of the submissive wife does not agree with the facts as they pertain to the women who sought divorce in Payne County. This confirms what Professor Griswold found in his study of nineteenth century rural California. Payne County women experienced stressful situations similar to those of the California women and reacted in strikingly similar fashion.

Families and Work: Strengths and Strains

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I would like to begin by giving you a brief background of the General Mills American Family Program. The central feature is a series of major research studies, the General Mills American Family Reports, commissioned from major researchers every other year since 1974. General Mills' commitment to this program grows out of a special commitment to families, who are the primary consumers of virtually every product and service we offer, and also from our belief that corporations have social responsibilities which go beyond our primary role as economic institutions.

The first General Mills American Family Report was completed at the height of the 1974-75 recession. While most of the families revealed considerable inner strength and the ability to cope with economic strains, a majority were worried about the state of the country, the economy and the lack of leadership, and many feared that the United States was heading for a depression.

The second report, published in 1977, was called *Raising Children in a Changing Society*, and looked at the 23 million American families with children under 13 years of age and how parents were coping with the problems of raising their children in a period of rapid social change.

A third study, The General Mills American Family Report of 1978-79, was entitled *Family Health in an Era of Stress*, and examined the attitudes of family members toward health and health care.

The latest report, and the one which I would like to share with you in detail is a landmark study which sheds significant light on just where and how the world as we know it is beginning to change as a consequence of the growing numbers of women in the work force. This survey points with assurance to one indisputable fact—a majority of women want to and will continue to work outside the home, marriage and child-rearing responsibilities notwithstanding. They will work not only to help support their families, but also for personal challenge and satisfaction. Their employers, their spouses, their children, and, indeed the public in general, support their right to do so. Men with working wives, in particular, sympathize with the needs and aspirations of working women. We found that attitudes about women working and about the job of homemaking have undergone profound changes. On the other hand, the survey also reveals that working mothers bear particular burdens and pressures and that most Americans recognize that these have an impact on both the ability of women to build and sustain careers and on their abilities to discharge their parental responsibilities to their own satisfaction.

The past ten years have already established a pattern for the future of families at work. More than five out of ten women living in families are now employed outside the home, while only three out of ten are full-time homemakers. Most of the women working outside the home are married, and most have children under the age of eighteen at home. Looking at this dramatic picture another way, the U.S. Department of Labor reports that by 1978, the proportion of children under the age of 18 with two working parents had risen to 50 percent, and that one working woman out of nine was the sole support of her family.

Our study of families and work was conducted in late 1980, through approximately 2000 interviews. The Harris Organization talked to a national probability sample of 1503 adult family members and also to 235 teenagers in those families. In addition, four leadership groups were interviewed, and their options compared or contrasted with the public sample. The leadership groups included 104 human resource officers, 56 labor leaders, 49 family traditionalists, and 52 feminists.

The data from the report will be presented in five parts: 1) Families at Work: Strengths and Strains, 2) Working Families and Child Care, 3) Families at Work: Setting Priorities/Finding a Balance, 4) Balancing Work and Family: Benefits and Policies, and 5) Teenagers Look at Work and Families.

Families At Work: Strengths and Strains

Findings throughout the study delineate the conflicts facing women as wives, mothers, and wage earners. To cite just one example, while two in three family members say they do have enough time for themselves and one in two working women agrees, it is working mothers who say they do *not*—by 63 to 35 percent. According to most family members, the trend toward both parents working outside the home has had negative effects on families. Almost twice as many family members think the trend has been "generally negative" as believe it has been "generally positive." Working women agree, albeit by a narrower margin. Family traditionalists are unanimous in believing that the effect of both parents working has been negative

for families, the only 100 percent findings in our entire series. Feminists are the only group who consider the trend a positive one.

The reason most often cited for feeling that there has been a negative effect on families is that children need stronger parental guidance, supervision, and discipline than can be given when both parents work. Another frequent answer was the somewhat nebulous reflection that "the family is falling apart." On the other hand, most feminists and working women see many positive effects—fulfillment for women working outside the home, added financial security, and a higher standard of living that their salaries make possible. In addition, they cite improved family communications and more independence for children. Many believe these benefits outweigh the negative effects of the family.

Family members and leaders also see some benefits to children when both parents work—specifically, children have to become more self-reliant and independent. Virtually all groups, with feminists a strong and noteworthy exception, believe that when both parents work, children are more likely to get into trouble. Among the public sample, a majority of working mothers agree, but in smaller numbers. Only one in five feminists buys this idea. Teenagers and their elders agree that the children of working parents are more likely to get into trouble. Teens feel this way by about two to one, young adults by slightly higher margins, and older family members by an emphatic four to one. It is interesting too, that males are more likely to believe this than females.

Fifty-five percent of family members believe that working parents spoil their children to make up for not spending more time with them. Again, feminists strongly disagree. Teenagers disagree also, and young adults are on the fence. Here again, it is clearly the older family members who feel most strongly on the subject.

However, the feeling now dominant in the land is that women are in the work force to stay, even if they and their families do not need the money. Most men and women *reject* the proposition that women would return to the home to take care of house and children if inflation abated and were no longer squeezing the family pocketbook. But many women, in the absence of financial need, would opt for part-time rather than full-time employment. Asked what reasons are important to their working, 90 percent of men and 87 percent of women said that a personal sense of accomplishment is important. The reason next most likely to be cited by both men and women was helping to make ends meet, followed by improving the family's standard of living. It is interesting to note, that while personal satisfaction headed the list, all other reasons cited had an economic base.

Posed the question, "If you had enough money to live as comfortably as you would like, would you prefer to work full-time, work part-time, do volunteer work, or work at home caring for the family?", women chose full or part-time work over homemaking. Women who now work would choose to continue to work outside the home by 58 to 28 percent. A somewhat more surprising finding, however, is that most women would opt for part-time employment if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they and their family would like. Working men prefer full-time employment to part-time by 50 percent to 28 percent. Women currently holding executive/managerial/professional jobs feel this way in even greater numbers, opting for part-time work by 51 percent over full-time of 19 percent, a finding which may

well reflect their current time constraints. Apparently, women believe that the demands and obligations they feel to job, home, and children could be better served by fewer hours at paid employment.

Homemakers feel a strong preference for the choice they have made. Only about one in five would prefer to work outside the home. But the trend to women working outside the home appears to be increasing. Twenty-three percent of the teenage girls to whom we spoke said that, even in the absence of economic need, they would prefer to work full-time. This compares to 14 percent of young adult women and ten percent of older ones.

Sixty-four percent of family members and even higher percentages of personnel and labor leaders agreed with the statement: "People who expect to get ahead in their careers or jobs have to expect to spend less time with their families." On the other hand, 85 percent of family members support the view that "even if they do have families, women should be given opportunities equal to men to work and have careers outside the home." All opinion leaders interviewed agreed with this statement by strong majorities.

Working Families and Child Care

In 35 percent of American households where there are children at home, parents now supplement their own care with other child care arrangements. Nearly half of these households have other family members help in caring for their children, and 23 percent use paid help in the home. About one in five families uses a day care center. A one-solution blueprint for the care of children of working parents does not emerge from the survey. The needs of children vary with age, and parents find themselves in a variety of work, family and financial circumstances. Asked about a range of trends for the future in child care, American family members support all improvements to help working parents, but are most clearly in favor of flexibility on the part of the employers and of increasing the responsibility of the children themselves. Eighty-five percent of family members feel it would be a good thing for families if employers made it easier for working parents to arrange their jobs and careers around their children. Not surprisingly, working mothers feel even more strongly about this, as do feminists, and family traditionalists are only slightly less enthusiastic. Four in five family members, working mothers and feminists feel that it would be a good thing if children were expected to take on more responsibility for themselves. Family traditionalists agree, but by a much smaller margin.

Relatively strong majorities of all groups would welcome tax deductions to help pay for child care. There was similar support for increasing the numbers of day care centers, with one notable exception. Predictably, perhaps, family traditionalists were in direct opposition to all others, with only 13 percent approving of the proliferation of institutional care for children.

Families at Work: Setting Priorities/Finding a Balance

When asked directly, a plurality of the public nationwide is convinced that there are more disadvantages than advantages to homemaking as a full-time career. In

direct contrast, over 60 percent of women who are currently homemakers feel the advantages of their jobs outweigh the disadvantages. Among the advantages of homemaking cited by family members was 1) the homemaker has more time to care for the home and the family, and 2) the homemaker develops a better relationship with the children. The disadvantages most often cited were 1) isolation, 2) lack of exposure to others, and 3) too great a responsibility for one person.

Findings about the perceived value of the job of homemaker were quite intriguing. Men said that a fair annual wage for a homemaker would be $12,700. Women as a whole said $13,800, with homemakers slightly below and working women slightly above that figure. But both women's leadership groups placed a far higher value on the job, with family traditionalists coming in just under $20,000, and feminists at $21,500.

Many of the traditional assumptions regarding the responsibilities of bread winners and the care of home and children are regected by family traditionalists, feminists, labor leaders, and working men and women alike. They reject the time-worn view that raising children should be the responsibility of the mother, not the father, even if the mother works.

Balancing Work and Family: Benefits and Policies

Shifting now from the home to the work place, we see reactions to benefits and policies that might help families, reactions which once again reveal the tensions of the demands of full-time work and uninterrupted careers on the one hand and family responsibilities on the other. Flexible schedules, or what are often called alternative work patterns, were popular with family members and especially with working women and women planning to work. These patterns included staggered start times, compressed work weeks, the freedom to set hours as long as seventy hours were worked in two weeks, job sharing, and jobs allowing one day a week to work at home. Most popular from a list of suggested changes was the opportunity to pick and choose the benefits most helpful to one's family. Also high on the list was part-time work with full-time benefits. Twenty-five percent of family members and 37 percent of working mothers feel that paid time off specifically for family responsibilities would be a great help.

Those who said a particular benefit would help them a great deal were asked whether they would accept a smaller raise in order to obtain it. Part-time work with full-time benefits became their first choice. Child care at the place of work, flexible benefits and paid personal days for children and family responsibilities followed. Forty-two percent of family members and 53 percent of working mothers would like the right to resume work at the same pay and seniority after a personal leave of absence. The right to refuse relocation without penalty was also important to them. The one option of no help to most families was a "shorter work week with less pay."

Teenagers Look at Work and Families

A majority of teens think the effects of both parents working are negative to children under twelve. However, only 27 percent see negative effects of teenagers

when both parents work outside the home. Their judgement is that with preschool children, one parent should stay at home. Only 12 percent see this as necessary, however, with children in school. When asked which parent should stay at home, the answer was "Mother." At present, 81 percent of the teenagers say that their mothers spend an adequate amount of time with them, but only 60 percent say the same thing about their fathers. Incidentally, the teenagers believe that their fathers work harder (perhaps because he is at home less?). But they believe that their mothers enjoy their work outside the home more. Teenage boys and girls are almost unanimous in believing that mothers and fathers should play equal roles in child care. They believe this even more strongly than do young adults, and are way in front of older ones. But many of them revert to a more traditional position, with 28 percent of the boys and 20 percent of the girls agreeing that raising children should be the mother's responsibility, even if she works. Contrast this with the fact that only seven percent of young adults and 12 percent of adults over 40 feel this way.

The teens' trend to the traditional showed up again in their agreement with this statement: "The person whose wages are most important for the family should make most of the important financial decisions." They agreed much more strongly than did those over eighteen and those over forty. Most teens do believe that girls have the same responsibilities as boys to work and support the family, with girls seeing it this way in considerably stronger numbers. But these same teen girls say that they will be the ones that will take care of the house and the children. Even fewer of them than of the boys expect to share this responsibility. Is the pendulum really swinging back or will these teenagers' attitudes and opinions change when they are actually in the situations? It will be interesting to watch this generation grow up.

During the next ten years, the impact of working women on the work place and on the family will be assimilated and reassessed. It will be a time for experimentation by employers and families with new kinds of work and career patterns and with new roles and responsibilities for children. The next generation, in fact, may be the primary beneficiary of the changes of the past decade. Through it all, I am confident that the American family and system will show their traditional strength—their adaptability to a changing world.

Crabtree:

Although the General Mills Study did include a sampling of teenagers' responses to questions and those teenagers were members of families where one adult member responded to the study, the study reported only frequency data for both the 1503 adult family members 18 years and older and the 233 teenagers between ages 13 and 18. It would be interesting to ascertain the degree of agreement or lack of agreement within the family units in terms of their perceptions and opinions about families and work. Would this not be an important element in affecting the degree of stress

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Editor's Note: For a more complete presentation of The General Mills American Family Report 1980-81: Families at Work, the reader may wish to contact General Mills, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

which might exist within the family unit because of likeness or differences in perceptions or opinions? Comparisons of intrafamily perceptions are a missing component which we need to be addressing as researchers as we study the relationships between family and the work place.

Sex role expectations within family units vary significantly across families. More in-depth studies of selected families involving all family members may provide us with some substantial clues as we think through how we can address the issues of enhancing the relationship between families and the workplace. How the family thinks through and develops its plan of action, delineates its direction, copes and adapts are certainly relevant to our discussions. The General Mills data did not relate to any of those aspects. We recognize that value changes are needed for a better balance today between work and family. It takes all family members to work on developing that balance. Certainly, as professionals, as volunteers, and as concerned citizens, we must address the issue that is much more than a woman's issue; rather, it is a family issue and a societal issue which must be addressed in preparing employees and professionals who work with families. Implicit, here, is an important role for our educational programs, a role relating to the whole area of sex role stereotyping which continues to exist in too many of our textbooks and classrooms, in the mass media and in expectations being expressed in our society. The elimination of the stereotypes will depend on society and its willingness to place a higher value, a higher priority on family needs. It will depend upon society's perception of the role of the family in the future of humankind. This is not just a problem of the government or the corporate sector. It is a challenge for all of us, it relates to our basic values and expectations.

Fowler:

I agree with Dean Crabtree's reacton which suggested that we, as change agents must look to infrastructural change. I want to speak specifically to a subpopulation of families which are merely touched on in the General Mills Reports. That, of course, is deliberate. The kind of intensive study of which Dean Crabtree spoke needs to be done most particularly with this group as well as with individual families in this and other groups. The group I am speaking about is the female-headed households where no male is present, commonly referred to as displaced homemakers. This group is growing at an alarming socio-economic rate. We knew in 1979 that there were three million such families. The heads of these households are ages 35 to 65. We have some sense that the three million that we knew about in 1979 are now between eight and 24 million. In 1979, 71 percent were 50 years or older; 59 percent had dependents and the average number was three; 80 percent were white; 76 percent had and continue to have incomes below $5,000 per year. They have the same family and personal problems covered in the General Mills Reports. There is, however, insufficient income, no transportation, no affordable health insurance, no money for recreation, no telephone and no television. When low wage, unskilled entry-level jobs are obtained, there is no supervision of children. These women are concerned not for the younger child, as indicated in the General Mills Report, but for the early teenage children aged 9 to 14. They feel that lack of supervision of teenage children is very

stressful. They have no relief from child care and household responsibilities. I know what no relief from child care can often mean in terms of victimization of children. Displaced homemakers are prone to reactive depression and accepting blame for having been deserted or widowed. They have, almost always, a self-concept which incorporates a profound sense of failure not only as a wife but also as a mother. Even though they wish very much to be employed, they have a very strong feeling of inadequacy in terms of a perspective of gainful employment.

As for work-related problems, an average of 20-25 percent do get jobs but all but a fraction are in unskilled, entry-level positions of less than $613 per month. Few of these people have benefits. There is severe age and, most particularly, severe age/time/sex discrimination. Although research indicates that women over 35 are the best employees in doing a job adequately, they are perceived differently by employers.

Lawry:

I would like to make two criticisms of the report. The first criticism involves the assumptions. What are the assumptions? There are no innocent studies. To say that is not to say that we cannot do a sensible job in making these studies but we should be a little more specific about stating what our assumptions are. When we read that a certain percentage of people feel that working outside the home has a negative effect on the family, how do we interpret what "negative effect" means? It may mean many different things. We need to recognize that the answers are interpreted first of all by the person who is asking the question and the person who is responding to the question.

My second criticism deals with the logic of the interpretations. Partly because of the assumptions, there are a number of places in the report where I was very startled by the inference made about the data. For example, in regard to teenagers' perception of time spent with parents, the study states that "by and large, teenagers are comfortable with the amount of time their parents spend with them...It is noteworthy that these feelings are even stronger among teen-agers with working parents, *suggesting that parents' work needn't take time away from the children.*"[1] It does not necessarily suggest that to me. It could be that the data are an indication of the indifference of the children. They may not care if the parents are around or not.

I am suggesting that when we look at these kinds of reports, we need to be up-front with our assumptions and extraordinarily careful about making inferences about data.

[1]*Families at Work: Strengths and Strains. The General Mills American Family Report 1980-81.* Minneapolis: General Mills, 1981, p. 63.

REFERENCE

Families at Work: Strengths and Strains. The General Mills American Family Report 1980-81. Minneapolis: General Mills, 1981.

Families and Work: Unevenly Distributed Pressures

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The world of work is a vastly changing place and the workers in it have vastly changing needs. Companies that do not adjust to today's changing family needs will not survive. With more women and mothers working, the concept of isolating work from home is breaking down. Working women have written a brand new set of rules; however, most jobs are still organized as if the male were the only wage earner, with five-day, 40-hour work weeks and fringe benefits. Yet, more than two out of five mothers of children six or younger, worked for pay in 1980.

The critical nature of family/work conflicts is indicated by the following scenarios:

1) John worked for a national retail store chain as operations manager. The work entailed long hours and he progressed rapidly up the management ladder in the ten years he was with the company. However, three children and four moves in ten years caused him to reconsider that 60 to 70-hour weeks gave him no time for his family. At age 33 and with a promising career, he quit the retail business.

2) Ellie works as a secretary in a large oil firm. She accepted the position with the understanding that, as a single parent, she needed to leave work promptly at closing time to catch the only bus to her neighborhood. Her boss often calls her in at 4 o'clock to dictate letters.

3) Andy really loves coaching little league for his ten-year-old son, but he has a supervisor who takes delight in calling unscheduled conferences with him at 4:30 p.m., one half-hour before closing time.

All of these people are conscientious employees. Employers and businesses need them and are, in many cases, accepting the corporate responsibility to them as people. It is a truism that training new employees is costly. Creative scheduling

for good employees can make them more productive workers and yield a better profit in return.

People have not lost their will to work, but neither are they interested in accepting work as it has been packaged, nor in making personal sacrifices as a condition for employment. They express frustration through demands for more time off and better pay or other means of compensation for work that is not meaningful to them.

There is a double bind for some. It is said that the guys who ignore their families are the guys who get rewarded. But the divorced ones present a bad company image. A corporate executive might suggest that a person incapable of keeping his personal life in order would have difficulty in running a company. In a study of female corporate officers in Chicago, it was discovered that 30 percent were either separated or divorced. Dr. Eugene Jennings, professor of management at Michigan State University, counsels top executives at 40 major companies. He reports that 20 percent of those nearing the top are divorced, and he projects that by 1985, about half of the corporate executive officers of the nation's 500 largest manufacturing firms will be divorced or separated.

Corporations cannot afford either to ignore the divorced or stall the careers of those trying to balance family and work. The need to achieve and to climb the corporate ladder often has an adverse effect on marriage. It can distort personalities and make poor marriage partners and poor parents. Many corporations are beginning to realize that demands on employees are often the very cause of personal conflict e.g. out-of-town traveling, frequent relocations, expectations that the corporate wife will fit a certain mold, 60-hour work weeks, and 24-hour call.

Many conflicts between career and family may be averted by knowing what you want out of life. Can you say "no" to a transfer or to the poorly organized executive who only gets going in the late afternoon and makes you late? Many are choosing to abandon their families or their promising careers. It should not have to be an either/or choice. The level of commitment that either demands will make you test your priorities. The key to survival in business and at home is communication—a fundamental basis of any good relationship. You have to decide if job and family are getting what each needs without sacrificing one or the other.

A study by the University of California Institute of Human Development at Berkeley focused on a group of boys and girls born between 1928 and 1930. It concluded that marriage is the most important part of a young girl's life. Personality tests taken when the women in the study were adolescents showed that those who grew up to be the happiest wives generally scored lower on a measure of self-assertion, self-indulgence, and independence, and higher on measures of submissiveness and conventionality. The findings also suggest that this type of women funnels her talents and energies into creating a successful marriage rather than striving for achievement in the outside world. Men in this period were raised to view marriage as a companion to a career. Men in the study tended to stay married because of economic success and job satisfaction.

We come to a point in dealing with the conflicts between work and family where we must make choices. We need to stimulate business to think more about ways to help individuals with difficult choices. There will be economic and human rewards

for those organizations willing to try HUMANAGEMENT—examining how practices impact on the mental health of employees.

Nofziger:

My remarks are based on experience in couseling dual-career couples and doing workshops, and also on my personal experience in a dual-career family. One positive thing that we have seen is that, when my husband and I began giving workshops several years ago, the main issue people were struggling with was whether the woman belonged in the home or out of the home. Now couples, and especially men, are struggling with, "How do I tell my boss that it is my turn to stay home with the sick child next time?" So we have seen an improvement.

I want to address some specific problems that dual career couples face. One of the most important problems is understanding the feelings of the spouse. The husband may have feelings that 1) he is not making enough money and is less of a provider and less of a man than he should be, 2) he may have unresolved dependency needs from childhood and may feel more secure when his wife is at home, and 3) he may feel jealous that she will enjoy her job, meet another man, or be more successful than he is. In dealing with these feelings, botn the husband and the wife must understand that these feelings are normal and they change over time. Couples should also understand that the husband has positive feelings about his wife's working—not just negative feelings. They need to communicate and be understanding of each others positions. Women often feel that success conflicts with femininity. Girls are raised in our society to be dependent and have doubts about being independent. Girls are also raised to be housewives and have doubts about being anything else.

A second problem is that women are working out of economic necessity but are still doing the majority of the work in the home. Women bring some of this on themselves by setting unrealistic expectations. Women set their standards too high because 1) they seek to prove that they are truly feminine while pursuing careers in male-dominated fields, 2) they feel guilty for having or wanting to work, or 3) they seek to gain control and authority denied them in other spheres of their lives. Women and men should ask themselves—"Do I really have to be the best in the world? Does my self-esteem depend on that? Have I set my standards too high to gain control?" They should consider reducing their expectations and getting the most from their psychic energy at home and at work.

Regarding household work, some women believe, "If I don't do it, no one else will." This is not always true. What is true is, "If I do it, no one else will." Couples should be fair but firm in dividing up tasks that need to be accomplished at home. They might begin by deciding what standards are acceptable to family members for each task, then determine who should have primary responsibility for each task. Enjoyment, availability and each skill should be considered. Next, control of the task should be conceded with the task. To maintain control sabotages efforts of those helping. Allowing natural consequences to occur is preferrable to doing a task that is no longer one's responsibility.

It is also important for the family to practice good time management. Dual career families often find they do not have a lot of time for the children, so wise use of the time they do have is a necessity.

Foutz:

My perspective is from the military community. It might be interesting for you to know that more than 50 percent of Air Force civilian wives are employed outside the home. They are employed for various reasons. Some are employed to make ends meet and others are employed for a sense of personal fulfillment. Although all of the people who serve in the Air Force look alike because they wear the same uniforms, they are a slice of American society. They come right out of our communities and were raised and trained by families next door to you. They don't change noticeably when they come into the military but they are confronted by a number of things that, perhaps, the civilian community is not.

The military community is established so that it will function when it is called on. That means that personnel will not only work as long as needed, but when they are called to go, they must go. This creates some family pressure, especially if the spouse also works. The Air Force is not senseless to the needs of the individual and the family, but the job must be done. For example, when the civilian workers go home at 4:30 p.m. someone may have to stay and finish the job.

Another difference is separation. Some are gone from their families an average of 150 days a year or more. In some of these cases, the spouse works and is left with total responsibility of the family on short notice. What happens to the spouse? He, or she in most cases, must learn to use the checkbook and accept the role of financier for the family. That spouse also has to accept what may have been the father's role of disciplining the children. When the father comes home, there is a re-entry ritual for the family as well as the departure ritual when he leaves.

Another problem which confronts some military families occurs when both spouses are in the military. In these cases the problems associated with separation and work scheduling are compounded.

Arquitt:

What are causes that are impacting family problems? We somehow have to tie history with our biography. We then begin to think in terms of the impacts happening to us outside our current situation. I would like to review societal trends and changes that have had a tremendous impact on family and family relationships; changes that might have a causal relationship with family problems.

We have moved more and more to a segmented nuclear family where our activities are taking place in an increasingly smaller family group. Emotional needs are met not by a large number of family members but, often, by one other person; consequently, there may be a great deal of pressure exerted on that relationship.

We have moved in the direction of defining children as problems. When we work outside the home, a child is a problem that we have to deal with. A negative relationship may emerge between parent and children.

Also, the elderly are often left out in the move to a segmented nuclear family. There needs to be an attempt to include and use the older person to tie the older and younger family members together.

We have changed in the concept of marriage from something economically necessary, to something equivalent to happiness. We expect euphoria from marriage. Rapid change in the concept of marriage and role expectations in a relationship often ends up increasing the discrepancies of spousal expectations.

We have changed in consumption habits and inflation has had a big effect. There is an increasing pressure to consume more and to use credit more extensively. In an affluent society based on growth and consumption, our income must increase to meet increased needs. When couples have difficulty keeping up the pace, blame is often oriented toward each other even though society may be exerting the pressure to consume more. Relational problems emerge because of what is happening outside of the marriage.

If we do not recognize that these pressures and these problems are impacted by external forces and not by the two or three or four family members sharing the same biography, life satisfaction is going to suffer. We all need to realize that factors far beyond the situation—even factors internationally—impinge on us as individuals.

Families and Work: Ethnic and Minority Perspectives

Resource Person: Rosa Q. King
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The greater Hispanic family in this country is represented by and comprised of four major groups: Mexican Americans; Puerto Ricans; Cubans; and Latinos from Central and South America. Hispanics are this country's fastest growing population and are projected to become the largest ethnic minority group in the nation in the 1980's. A consesrvative report predicts an increase of 61 percent with projections

of 27 million by the 1990's. Despite the size of the population, Hispanics are invisible to most other Americans and lack of understanding of their culture has surfaced in several areas such as New York, Miami and Los Angeles in the way of discontent and community unrest.

Although Hispanics have been in American society for many years, they are seldom seen as an integral part of it. They live on the fringes of society and are rarely accepted as bona fide members of it. As in any other ethnic family, these groups share many common roots but are not as cohesive from within as members of the dominant society might lead one to believe. Among Hispanics, however, there is a communality of cultural heritage, including the Spanish language, Catholic religious influence and the importance of viable family ties.

The stress and pressures of American society have probably had a greater impact on Hispanic families than on any other segment of the population. There are historical, cultural, demographic, social, political and economic factors supporting the idea that Hispanic families are susceptible to a multitude of pressures, demands and stresses which are an integral part of their high risk status.

In analyzing the status of families in American society, we discover the following trends:

1) Disintegration of the family unit as an institution of socialization;

2) The erosion of the role of the family in child caring, transmission of moral and cultural values and responsibility for emotional growth and development;

3) The high rate of mobility caused by economical and other structural forces, resulting in the uprooting of families.

It must be considered that this disintegration is magnified in the case of Hispanic families due to the pressure to assimilate and acculturate to an environment that, in many respects, is alien, often hostile, contradictory and destructive.

In looking at the characteristics of the Hispanic family, we generally find that Hispanic people exhibit: 1) orientation toward persons rather than toward ideas or abstractions; 2) commitment to individual autonomy within the context of familial and traditional Hispanic values; 3) emphasis on the central importance of the family; 4) emphasis on being rather than doing; 5) emphasis on the father as the main authority figure; and 6) the conceptualization that work is a creative expression of the inner self rather than a mechanical task performance for which money is received.

Statistics show Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans at the bottom of the ladder in the employment sector with over 60 percent in blue collar jobs that are not choice industrial jobs. Less than 20 percent of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans have white collar jobs. Therefore, the economic condition of Hispanic families is perhaps the most serious problem with high unemployment, marginal or entry level employment for large families and barriers to good paying jobs.

Participation of Hispanics in economic development is far below that of society as a whole. They have not been incorporated into the economic business development mainstream of American Society. They must face the inadequacies of the system in business opportunities, accessibility to capital sources in education and training in assistance programs from the government and the private sector and in community revitalization programs. Hispanic business owners must also face the problems experienced by all business owners plus the disadvantages of a minority group in terms

of adequate management training, limited experience and lack of financial support in a highly competitive society. Concluding, it must be expressed that the administration of justice, employment, political development, and foreign policy are all related areas which affect the economic development of the Hispanic community in the United States, as well as the greater Hispanic or Latin world.

It is clear that the tenuous position held by Hispanic families in the larger society makes their family/work conflicts even more traumatic.

Hill:

It seems that during an economic crunch, there are certain people who bear the brunt more than others. I am reminded of the earlier white East European ethnic groups in places such as Pittsburg and it was the Depression that brought everyone together. We still see remnants in little ethnic enclaves in cities such as Pittsburg but, for the most part, the aculturation and assimilation of East Europeans took precedent.

I would take issue with two points which Rosa made. The first one is the conclusion that the disentegration of the family unit which has taken place in American society is even greater for the Hispanic family because of pressures to aculturate. I would view that differently. Some family members are more rooted in tradition than those who are interested in aculturating and buying into the American dream; consequently, there is a difference in values which causes conflict. Secondly, my own observations are that ethnic families have a stronger commitment to each other as a family. They seem to be more closely tied to one another than the traditional American family.

Tarbell:

My message is that we must help lower the physical and attitudinal barriers for handicapped and minorities. A saying that I heard is very appropriate—"I'd rather you would walk beside me than point the way." I think this applies to any kind of minority, whether ethnic or handicapped.

Hill:

There is one thing that all minorities, including ethnic and handicapped have in common and that is the problem of discrimination in larger society. That is what ties this session together. But in this society, we have a value not to be found in all societies on this earth and that is the value on equality of opportunity.

There is another issue too, and that is the problem of having work as a creative expression of self, rather than a mechanical production, which Rosa spoke of. If you want to take on the problems, it means taking on the bureaucracy. It is the bureaucracy which does not want to deal with the problem in the bathroom (bathrooms that do not accommodate handicapped persons) or does not want to deal with someone who does not speak English.

Families and Work Policy: Past, Present and Future

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Anderson:

For too long those of us in the area of human behavior (and I speak of myself as a practicing social worker) have been content to sit on the sidelines and criticize the political process without exhibiting a strong committment to do something about it or to change it. The purpose of this conference is to enhance public awareness of the beliefs underlying daily decisions concerning work and the family. The task at hand is to push aside the luxury of elitist views toward bureaucrats and politics and get on with the productive dialogue of how things get done in government and why. My presentation will not be a scholarly treatment of the subject but it will be a series of observations of a process that seemingly relies neither on logic nor consistency. I have adopted my own phrase in the legislature that "you don't have to be consistent as long as you are right."

Because the impact of the economy and how it affects the family has historically been influenced by federal policy, those of us in state legislatures have become only tangentially involved in issues affecting families and work. This fact became clear to me as I approached the House research staff and said, "Find for me all of the legislation that we have ennacted or considered during this year and last year." They came back with one bill. If we considered Workmen's Compensation and how it affected people and families, we could contrue that one piece of legislation concerned work and families. In my own review, I found House Bill 1150 which was defeated soundly on the House floor. That bill dealt with mandatory overtime and stated that an employer would give 24-hours notice before requiring overtime of a person over 55 or a woman with children. That was not an earth-shaking piece of legislation but it did pertain to families and work.

In looking further, I reviewed the compilations of model legislations submitted across the country from the National Council of State Legislatures. I found the same void across the board in state legislatures, at least in model laws, as to issues that would specifically affect families and work. Domestic violence issues are there and other issues that deal with families. I am hesitant, therefore, to address families and work. I know a great deal about families, but little about work.

I concluded, then, that 1) the problems addressed in legislation concerning families and work are not priority concerns of the electorate, or 2) that, for some reasons, the response of the effective persons is not sufficient toward legislative action, or 3) perhaps there has not been sufficient incentive to attract the attention of employers and/or bargaining units.

Two of the most popular recommendations which came from the White House Conference on the Family to enhance the quality of life and the work environment were the use of state tax incentives for development of day care centers near the workplace and raising child care deductions for working parents. Oklahoma stands in a fiscal position with the ability to allow these losses in revenue. Our state also benefits from low unemployment, indicating that the target population is there, and the present economy has strained our family resources to the point that both parents work not for the luxuries, but for the basics of family life. If, then, we have the target population and the need demonstrated by low unemployment and the demand by the economy, why is there not a ground swell to push for either the day care incentive credits or increased deductions.

In discussing the incentive tax credit for employment-related day care, we find neither the employers priority of concern nor the outcry of assistance from the state or federal government. This is an area where business has identified a benefit by addressing employers' concern and utilized it to attract and maintain valued employees. In Tulsa, for example, one of the first places to utilize an in-house day care center was St. Francis hospital and it was developed to attract and keep registered nurses. They did it because of a vested interest, not because it was a civic duty. The company would readily accept the tax credit, but the primary motivation was increasing job productivity—hiring and keeping good employees.

In the case of increasing the deduction allowable for day care, this is an issue that the employer does not lobby with the employee for specific changes in the law. Here you have the employee on his own because the employer probably has other concerns. To be quite honest, the federal tax deductions are more visible and are more of an attraction for change. But with the pressure of the bleak financial picture facing many families, any help that they get may be the difference between living within a budget and getting caught up in the spiral of unpaid bills.

Both of the issues—child care deductions and day care facilities—should be addressed at a state and federal level so that efforts complement one another. As the states approach New Federalism, the responsibilities that we acquire will certainly outweigh the fiscal package being sent back to the states. The opportunities for development of new priorities and attacking problems at the state level will place more demands on each person in the state legislature. The programs formerly addressed at the federal level may be implemented by the states but, more than likely will be reduced or eliminated all together as they are placed head-to-head with other

programs. Then we are in a process of prioritization as opposed to good vs. evil.

This year, in the state legislature, we already have requests of $105 million more than we have. This is in a state where we are expecting a surplus. As we look at the potential of more funds coming to the state and more and more people scrambling after those funds, I see the issues and concerns of lower income people in our society being pushed further and further to the back.

I mentioned earlier my impression of the legislative process. My motivation is not to get on the bandwagon of those who breed distrust or to enhance contempt for those of us in political office. Rather, I prefer that we make a concerted effort to understand the political process and, having done that, to work within those confines to address the needs of the working family.

The one thing that this legislature can do more than anything else to have a positive impact on families in the workplace is to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Without a doubt, that would be a positive step. People in the state probably do not realize how close we were to ratifying the amendment. I do not know how to respond to people in California who write to say, "That's not just your amendment, it's ours, too."

Those of us in politics are, I think, all well intentioned. What we have seen is that sometimes when we try to make a dog, we make an elephant and it does not fit in our dog house. An example is Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). I go on record as saying that in spite of all the knocks that OSHA gets continually, had it not been for the pressure from the federal government on many of the conditions in the workplace, they would not have been changed. OSHA may be a discomfort to some people some of the time, but I think the good outweighs the bad.

Tillman:

I particularly appreciated the comments made by Ellen Chitwood last evening. Her perspective from the employer, the management point of view, I think were right on target. I do have one or two disagreements with things that she said which I will mention as I proceed but I thought that her remarks were particularly outstanding. Also, Sid Johnson, I thought, was right on track particularly when he was talking about employer interest in child care. Yesterday, it was suggested that labor unions would have to demand assistance with child care or it would not happen. Johnson's comments would suggest, however, that the corporate entity is interested and willing to help with this important concern.

One of my principle premises deals with the motivation of policy, not from the point of view of any government source but from the point of view of the corporate source. And I would say that motivation is principally based upon economics as well as a sincere concern for the well being of the employee and the individual. But it does make good economic sense to do the things that help the employee and particularly as it helps him or her manage family responsibilities. As I proceed, several examples will be used to point that out to you.

Our topic today is Families and Work Policy: Past, Present and Future. Thinking back about past policy I would go back to my experiences with the Air Force. It was

some twenty-five years ago that I graduated from the Naval Academy and took my commission in the Air Force. One of the principal reasons that I took my commission in the Air Force and not the Navy was because I wanted to give the military a full shot as far as my career objectives were concerned and I very quickly recognized that a Naval career by definition meant a lot of time at sea and separation from the family. I did not have a wife or children at the time that I graduated from the Naval Academy. Still, that was one of my principal concerns. The various changes in policy over the twenty years that I was in the service turned out to be pretty dramatic. For example, when I entered the service, you could count on being reassigned about every two years. And that certainly had a big impact on the family. And it had a number of advantages as well as disadvantages. And through my career in the service my family had wonderful educational opportunities that we would never have had otherwise. That was a very positive outcome, but of course, there were some negative things too.

The reason the service is not moving people around as much is simply that it costs so much to move people anymore. My last assignment before retirement was in San Antonio and I was there for six years. That provided a certain amount of stability through the time when several of my children were in high school. Being there as long as we were was a positive factor that had a good impact on my family. However, I am not sure that the length of our time there was really due to a policy consideration designed to help families. Rather, I believe it was a policy consideration that dealt with the economics of the situation. And that is something that has really changed in a major way.

Another thing that has changed in a major way in the past twenty-five years as far as the service is concerned is the composition of service by sex. When I entered the service there were few women in the service. Now women, in relatively large numbers, serve their country in the armed forces. That is good policy, because women can make a meaningful contribution and want to contribute. Still, policy decisions are very questionable in their application in some senses. In the recruiting area, for example, approximately seven or eight years ago, we had a requirement that 15% of the newly enlisted persons in the Air Force should be women. While officers in the Air Force are considered generalists, enlisted personnel are supposed to be specialists. Specialties in the Air Force are grouped into four basic categories: electronics, mechanical, administrative, and general areas. If we were going to have women as 15% of the Air Force we were going to have 15% across the board in every specialty. Perhaps one has to force the issue in order to achieve the goal. But I am not convinced that it was smart, at least in the beginning, to pursue the goal that quickly in particular specialty areas because I believe women preferred administrative and general types of jobs—not mechanical and electronic jobs.

There were always more women wanting in the Air Force than the Air Force could accept--probably three times as many. The women that wanted into the administrative and general areas were top quality people, but the Air Force could not get enough women who could qualify at the minimum standard in the electronics and mechanical areas. In the same period of time, men had the exact opposite profile. The men wanted into electronical and mechanical jobs and their principal motivation was that these jobs provided training that they could not get elsewhere. So, we

turned down men in order to hold positions open for women—positions we could not fill. By the same token we were not permitting women in areas that they preferred for which they were well qualified. In addition, it was difficult to get men into those same areas. As a result, we were bringing people into the Air Force who were marginally qualified for their particular specialty, and at the same time, denying entry to people who were especially well qualified. Nonetheless, it was an effort of the Air Force to respond to changes that were occurring in the market place, in this case particularly relative to women working in the marketplace.

The biggest single problem that I saw in the Air Force was motivating people to stay in the service and do the job for which they were trained. You are all aware that the military budget is at the forefront of national thinking right now as we consider the weapons systems that we need. Nonetheless, over half of the budget deals with people-type activities and paying people, fringe benefits and all the things associated with people as opposed to weapons systems. So, what happens to the people in the service is a matter of considerable concern to us from an economic point of view. Too many people are leaving the service. Why? Well, pay is one reason. Service personnel are not paid as well as they would be paid doing the same job in the civilian world. But I would suggest to you that the principal reasons for people leaving the service are family-oriented reasons. Of course, number one is separation from the family, in some cases very lengthy separations. But there are other family factors that relate to the decision of whether to make the service a career.

Being in the service connotes a lifestyle that is distinctly different. To some people it is very appealing and to others it is not. It is very important for the U.S. Air Force, the employer, to make that lifestyle as appealing as possible. And it is important for economic reasons as well as for the security reasons. So, I suggest to you that this conference is dealing with a subject that is of great importance to everybody in this country regardless of orientation.

My current orientation is with employers and others who are members of a downtown organization, a private [illegible]nfit organization, dealing with activities related to the growth and other activities i[illegible]wntown area. One of the things that we attempt to do is to make the downtown environment as appealing as possible to the employee. It is the employers who are paying money into my organization for my salary and for my staff to do these kinds of things. Why? Because the employer finds it very costly to have excessive turnover. That is one of the key concerns. Productivity is dependent on stability of the work force. Therefore, the management of a company is concerned with working conditions, absenteeism, and turnover. Again, I refer to my original premise that, from a corporate policy point of view, it is important to do those things which contribute to an employee's relationship to the family. There is a long list of things that bear on whether you're going to have a high turnover rate or not.

One item of importance to corporations and families is working hours or schedules. In this conference we have already talked about flex-time. For some families it is a very important option.

In some spheres, transportation to and from work is considered in the benefits package. For example, many corporations provide van pools, car pools, or encourage mass transit.

Employee parking is a very important item if you are in a downtown area. Some of our employees also need shuttle bus service from the peripheral parking lots to the place of work.

Another factor that is pertinent to downtown Tulsa is security. If employees are going to park and walk to their places of work, we need to make sure that they have a sense of security. In downtown Tulsa, we have the lowest crime rate of anyplace in the city. That is documented, but that is not the way it is perceived. People think there is a security problem in downtown Tulsa so we have to deal with that perception.

Education and training opportunities for employees can add to or detract from the family well being. Usually, a better trained employee is a happier, more productive employee; and this condition has positive impacts on the family.

Some employers provide financial assistance programs. Credit union opportunities and financial counseling deal directly with the family.

Health and physical fitness programs are provided for some employees. These, too, have a direct bearing on the family and attest to the concerns of management.

Community involvement is another item of importance. We are finding more and more that management wants employees to become involved in community activities and community affairs and would like their families to become involved as well. Employees who feel that they are making a contribution to the community are believed to be more productive.

Another effort aimed at keeping the productivity of our people at a high level is the free entertainment provided at noon in the downtown Tulsa area. This gives employees an opportunity to refresh themselves—not only physically, but mentally throughout the workday.

All of the employee benefits I've mentioned have a bearing on the family. The primary motivation of the employer is economic—an attempt to reduce absenteeism and employee turnover. We are now recognizing that as the quality of family life is enhanced, employee productivity is impacted accordingly.

Now I would like to tell you about our interest or involvement in day care. In downtown Tulsa we now have about 60,000 people working. That is a dramatic increase over the past three or four years. There is also a rather dramatic change in the composition of that work force. More and more of its participants are women. Many of these women represent families where both spouses work and many are heads of one-parent families. Some of our workers are males who head one-parent families. In any of these cases, day care may be needed. Here is where I would like to contrast findings of our research with that presented by Ellen Chitwood. She reported that an Oklahoma City survey on day care needs revealed that the majority of the employees did not want day care in the downtown area. We found the opposite in Tulsa. We found that employees did not want to bring their children downtown with them and have them close throughout the day. Therefore, we do need to provide more day care—more quality day care centers. There are quality day care centers in downtown Tulsa now, but they all have waiting lists. We have considered corporate day care, but management in downtown Tulsa seems to be more interested in the consortium approach where each would make a contribution but not have the management responsibility.

During our study of day care needs for downtown Tulsa employees, we looked at an outstanding example of corporate day care being provided by Zales in Dallas. The rationale supporting their involvement in corporate day care includes benefits to parents and children, benefits to corporate sponsors, and benefits to society. Among the benefits to parents and children are:

- additional time together while commuting
- more time together during parental visits to the center
- parental participation in formulating center policies
- ease of reaching children in emergency situations
- flexibility in daily working schedule
- freedom to shop or visit during evening commuting hours
- children's availability to visit parental work sites
- parent's availability for observation of important milestones for children
- mothers availability to feed infants

Benefits to corporate sponsors include:

- employee recruiting advantage in the community
- greater retention of user group
- improved worker morale
- humanization of the work place
- good community relationships
- positive impact on parental productivity

Finally, benefits to society include:

- pluralism in the socialization of the young
- the provision of quality care at no expense to the government
- efficiency and effectiveness in delivering high quality programs

In my opinion the benefits are significant for both corporations and employees and their families. We in Tulsa will continue to pursue child care options on behalf of enhanced producticity and employee satisfaction as well as on behalf of the children who will receive care.

Another example cited at this conference is the Alcohol Rehabilitation Center. The Alcohol Rehabilitation Center is a winner from everyone's perspective, most certainly from that of the employer. Several years ago Downtown Tulsa Unlimited, along with metropolitan Tulsa Chamber of Commerce created a task force to study the alcohol rehabilitation problem particularly as it pertained to the street people in downtown Tulsa. On June 29 of the past year we opened a rehabilitation center. It is not in downtown Tulsa. The site was carefully chosen so that it is not in a residential neighborhood but is away from the area where the participants are used to being able to get a drink and be with their drinking buddies. It is also away from bars, taverns, and liquor stores. It is a work program that has been very successful. People who are hard core alcoholics on the streets are most difficult to work with but this program is keeping about 70 people working productively and in many cases taking

on jobs in Tulsa that nobody else will fill. The clients are being clothed, sheltered, fed, and their medical needs are being taken care of. They are actively working which is so crucial for self respect. Most of the clients have been on the streets from one to sixteen years. Essentially they have been separated from their families. About six months after the program started, about 25 of 80 clients went home to their families for Christmas. All were encouraged to do so; however, some had no family. The wonderful thing about it was that all 25 of them came back to the program sober. They reunited with families that they had been separated from for years. Now they are reestablishing family ties through the help of the program. I think this is very important from both the family and the work point of view.

Another example that I can cite is the total community effort toward making Tulsa one of the most livable cities in the country. Tulsa has the good fortune of being at or near the top of almost every list that measures livability. Very specific things are happening in Tulsa that play a part in this livability and one of them is the development of the river parks. With the creation of the low water dam there will be lake right near downtown Tulsa. This is very important from a livability point of view. A puplic-private partnership has brought this about. The corporate and foundation contributions speak to their values about families and work and their pride in community. For example, if Tulsa is an attractive, appealing, livable city, employers will be able to recruit and retain productive employees. The river parks make an important contribution. This same conviction has led to tremendous corporate support for the arts and humanities and spectator sports in the community. All of those things that make employees and their families more satisfied are deemed worthy of corporate interest.

For the future, I think it is imperative that we continue in our efforts to give equal treatment to men and women in the work place. Achieving increased productivity through efforts to make employees happy and satisfied is very important. High morale is something that leads to better productivity. We are gaining in our understanding that family well-being is important to productivity; thus, we will work toward reducing work and family conflict.

We talked earlier in this conference about work and family conflict. I had not thought of conflict as being the right word. I think in retrospect it probably is. Throughout the time that I was in the service, I thought about balancing my life in regard to my responsibility to my work and to my family. Generally the problem was balancing time on the job with time with the family. But it goes much deeper than that, and I think that conflict is the right word. More and more will be done to reduce that conflict and to truly enhance the integration of the family into the thinking of those in the work place.

My last comment is that it is important to meet the needs of the individual employee at as low a cost as possible. The costs of some of the benefits that we have been talking about are increasing and, although we are always concerned about productivity, decreased turnover, decreased absenteeism and new programs, there is a limit to the corporate capacity to respond. These new programs do have a cost and the trade offs must be considered. Sid Johnson mentioned cafeteria-style benefits. I think this may be the trend of the future. We are looking at employees as individuals and each individual has different needs. If there is a cost associated and it does not

meet the needs of all of the individuals that we are trying to serve, then to some degree it is a wasted cost. Hopefully, cafeteria-style benefits will lead to a bottom line of more productivity for the company and for society. I think efforts like this conference are good in making people aware of the possibilities beyond awareness. It is my view that in the future, good things will happen in the areas of families and work.

Parle:

The first point Representative Anderson addressed was the political process. The policymaking process as political scientists look at it, occurs on the basis of something called political rationality. You can see this in terms of some of the issues one talks about, such as Equal Rights. If one looks at national surveys on ERA, one finds that most Americans support it. Yet, it is in great difficulty as a constitutional amendment because state legislatures will not pass it. The conclusion that a political scientist draws from this is that state legislatures represent different constituencies and tend to be much less responsive on this kind of issue. This leads in an obvious direction if one is concerned with having a policy on families and work or on any kind of broad social policy in this direction. Why isn't there more concern? Why aren't state legislatures more responsive? A couple of reasons were suggested. Does the electorate not care? Do interest groups dominate in state government? I suggest that it is a complex of these things. It gets down to peoples' individual values and beliefs and one can distinguish here between private solutions and public solutions. I think we have a history in this country of seeking private or individual solutions rather than broad-based political solutions.

A lot of what gets done about a problem politically depends on how people view it—whether they view it as a political problem that can be taken to government for a solution or whether they view it as a private problem that they have to solve themselves.

If we want government to get involved with families and work policy, then we have to be willing to make political commitments. Legislators have to know that if they vote against a certain policy they will encounter political resistance from organized groups.

Another theme of Representative Anderson's remarks was his comment on New Federalism. Currently, state governments get about 25 percent of their funds from the federal government, generally for social programs. New Federalism would involve states absorbing what are now federal functions. Because states do not have the same financial base as the federal government, many people feel that, if the federal government is successful in giving a lot of functions back to state governments, state governments will eventually drop them. They will not be allowed to grow at the same rate. Since these are primarily funds that are used for social programming, the burden will fall disproportionately on lower middle and lower income groups. I share some of Representative Anderson's fears, should this happen.

I would like to comment on the corporate role discussed by Mr. Tillman. He indicated that it is to the business's advantage to be responsive to the needs of

employees and, in particular, to the needs of family. There are some limitations on the extent to which this can happen. Most of the examples given are model employers in a tight labor market who are trying to keep skilled employees. By and large, if you are lower than middle class, the employer you work for probably is not a model employer and probably does not provide a big traditional benefits package. I think that, unless government steps in in some sort of way, there are not going to be sweeping changes by employers. The mechanics of how to do it are interesting. A good example of how day care might be handled is the way that health insurance is handled for individuals and families. We have a health policy that is unlike that of other western industrial countries. We do not have a national health scheme. Instead, we have some provisions in our tax structure that make it advantageous for employers to provide health insurance to individuals. That change in the tax laws, which really is the same as a program in terms of its economic impact, is a federal/private/corporate partnership in terms of health service. It may be that some such similar method could be used by the federal government to support a national policy on day care. This might be much more palatible to us as Americans than more explicit programs like federally-funded day care.

Corporate Fringe Benefits: Past, Present and Future

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Bamford:

Compensation is a reward for services rendered. The rewards package offered by organizations is a mix of direct and indirect compensation. Direct compensation is the salary or wages paid for work done. Indirect compensation covers the benefits package. The objective of any compensation package is to 1) *attract* qualified individuals; 2) to *retain* skilled employees; and 3) to *motivate*.

Until World War II, wages equated to job satisfaction and productivity. Wartime economics and wage freezes caused companies to begin looking for motivators other than money. Organized labor also had a significant impact on the development of indirect compensation about the same time. Collective bargaining for welfare/non-wage benefits grew rapidly. Non-union companies added benefits hoping to avoid unionization and to compete for manpower. Since the 1950's, these indirect compensation "extras" have become so commonplace that employees expect and demand a variety of non-pay rewards.

Prosperity and economic growth have turned into a period of high inflation and economic recession. Companies find themselves with payroll costs equal to 50-80% of total operating expenses with another 30-35% above payroll costs needed to cover benefits. It is not uncommon for benefits to run as high as 40% of payroll, especially in negotiated union agreements. Considering the cost, benefits are much more than "fringe." Some companies already have begun looking for ways to contain and reduce this expense, as evidenced by recent landmarks in union contract concession's on both wages and the benefits package.

Benefit plans for indirect compensation vary considerably from company to company. By industry, banking and energy typically have the richest packages. Forms of indirect compensation available today include the following:

(1) Probably the most common benefit is medical insurance. Employers frequently pay a portion of the total premium for employee coverage. Employee contribution toward the cost of dependent coverage is common although some employers pay 100% of both employee and dependent coverage. Because this is an ever-increasing portion of the benefit cost, empioyers are looking for less expensive alternatives.
Low deductible with little to no co-insurance health coverage may become a thing of the past due to cost. Higher deductibles and co-insurance are the only tools avaiable to offset rate increases brought on by ever-rising medical costs and high utilization. Inflation of 22-24% for health care over the past two years have brought significant increases in the number of claims being filed. People who did not use their insurance before now file small claims for office visits and drugs. A fairly new alternative delivery system for medical care is the HMO (Health Maintenance Organizations). HMO's offer some control of costs and emphasize preventive care and health. Members of the HMO pay an annual fee for any and all care and treatment needed for the year. They use the HMO staff of physicians for all services. Some parts of the country have several HMO's. An HMO was intitiated in Oklahoma City about a year ago. Employers pay part or all of the membership for employees in lieu of insurance.

(2) Dental insurance is an increasingly common benefit. Routine care is covered but orthodontics generally is not. Approximately half of the companies in the U.S. have this benefit.

(3) Vision care insurance to cover glasses is limited still. This specialized coverage may never enjoy great popularity. Only 10-15% of employers offer this benefit.

(4) In recent years, paralegal and legal services came on the scene as a new benefit. This has not really caught on since less than 5% of the companies have legal services.

(5) Paid sick leave generally provides greater benefits for salaried employees than hourly workers. Time off generally increases with length of service and can be accrued to a specified maximum. Most companies self-insure, i.e. fund their own sick leave program. Days off for illness and short-term disability fall under this benefit. Absences greater than 3-6 months normally go into a long-term disability program.

(6) Long-term disability programs, excluding worker's compensation, provide income to normal retirement age if a worker becomes unable to work. Only 17% of the employers responding to a nation-wide survey do not have long-term disability.

(7) Retirement/pension plans are available through three-fourths of the companies in this country. Income benefits are based on age and/or length of service. Early retirement reduces income by a specified percent. Most plans contain survivor benefits and are integrated with Social Security. Few plans offer regular cost of living increases to retirees because of the tremendous cost.

(8) Life insurance is also quite common. For most employees, the amount depends on salary. Employee contribution is not usually required. Most companies do not offer optional dependent life insurance.
In the past 5-10 years, "cafeteria plans" have become fairly common for management personnel in many large companies. The employee has a "core" of benefits but chooses how a certain amount of benefit dollars is used. Choices generally include additional retirement, life, disability income, sick leave and vacation time. This allows the employee to pick more of the specific benefits most important to him or her at that time. Even though this trend is growing, the question of a company's legal obligation for poor choices made by the employee has been raised.

(9) Holidays are part of the growing area of pay for time not worked. The majority of companies now offer nine to ten paid holidays per year. Floating holidays are common.

(10) Paid vacation time is an integral part of the benefit package. The trend is toward more vacation with less service. Three weeks is becoming common after five years. Only about 25% of the companies pay for time not used and 75% do not allow carryover from one year to the next. The employer is required to carry unused vacations as a financial liability. Very recently, as a recruiting tool, some Texas companies have begun offering vacation credit for years of service in the same industry. So far, this is seen only on a very limited basis in the oil industry.

Significantly less common benefits are:

(11) Profit sharing plans affect only about one-fourth of the companies and

are generally limited to middle or higher management. Profit sharing has diluted incentive value because of restrictions on the maximum contribution and restrictive withdrawal criteria.

(12) Stock options are dying as a motivator except at the highest level of management. Tax problems and administrative difficulties are the main reason.

(13) Thrift and savings plans are very cost efficient programs compared to retirement and profit sharing. Medium-size companies can easily afford this in many cases. Each plan specifies the maximum percentage of annual earnings or dollar amount the company will match.

(14) Relocation programs to pay moving expenses and/or buy the home in the old location are generally limited to management levels.

(15) Company-operated child care will probably not become common. It is costly, staff is difficult to maintain, there are *many* legal requirements and liabilities, and it does not reduce absenteeism. Employees still have to take off with a sick child.

Another type of "benefit" could be variations in the work schedule. Variable hours, flex-time, has gained only limited acceptance. Flex-time allows arrival over a specified period of time in the morning. Blue Cross and Blue Shield has had flex-time for more than 2 years now. It is not a cure for tardiness or absenteeism. When used wisely for doctors appointments and personal business, it can reduce absenteeism. Its greatest attractiveness is use as a recruiting tool.

The average work week is still approximately 40 hours. The four-day work week will gain greater acceptance only out of necessity — energy-savings, or some similar circumstance.

Some companies are making more part-time jobs available and will allow job sharing. It is doubtful this trend will strengthen in the near future since unemployment is expected to remain on the increase.

The challenge in the coming decades will be accommodation of an aging workforce. The "baby boom" is now a large group of adults in their 30's. Career pathing in a corporation offers limited opportunities in management. Providing satisfying work will be difficult unless "success" can be defined differently. Lateral movement rather than upward mobility must gain acceptance. Retirement plans will increase in importance which may again put greater value on longevity and company loyalty.

The financial success of American business will depend on the ability of employers to find different methods of rewarding employers. In the future, companies will probably move away from trying to meet an increasing variety of needs for the employee and his family and return much of this responsibility to the employee.

Morgan:

I was asked to explain what the Kerr Foundation is doing in child care in the state of Oklahoma. I wish that I could report that the Kerr Foundation is the leader

in innovative and important achievements in the field of child care, that we have set the tone, that we have millions of dollars, that we have found the solution and that the world is going to be better for our having been here. But, as Claudia ended on a realistic note, let me begin on a realistic note by telling you, "it ain't so."

We have not assumed a leadership role. I do not want to mislead into believing that we are the movers and shakers in the child care world. We are not, but we are probably learning more than the rest of the community is learning from our involvement in the last several months. It is as much an educational process for me and for my trustees as it is for anyone else.

Historically, the Kerr Foundation has always been interested in young people. I am in the process right now of preparing a major position paper for a retreat which my trustees are going to have in a couple of months. After the retreat, we are going to look at our programs and decide if we want to change the way we spend our money. Throughout our history we have spent most of our money on programs that benefit the young, especially children and youth of elementary and secondary levels and below.

The major granting program of the Kerr Foundation, the Challenge Grant Program, is designed specifically to provide dollars to institutions and organizations for programs that benefit young people. We designed this program as a way to focus the dollars that we have available not only on a specific target group but also by making all or most of our grants Challenge Grants, which means that for every dollar that we provide, the recipient must provide at least a dollar or more. By this method, we are able to assist organizations and institutions in raising money far beyond what an outright gift of money would do.

Our trustees were a little skeptical when the Challenge Grant Program was started but it has worked beyond our greatest expectations. In the last two years we have awarded, through our Challenge Grant Program, about two and one-half million dollars. We still have challenges outstanding to come in from the last six months but we have organizations that have already raised more than two million dollars in order to claim our money. For many of them, it has made or opened up whole new worlds. They now know that they can raise money in the community and are finding that this is a very useful and helpful tool for developing their skills in raising private dollars.

Currently I am in the process of analyzing where our money has gone and am finding that most of it goes to education—not necessarily formal education, but education primarily in terms of increasing public awareness. That is where we spend most of our dollars.

We started looking into child care programs, in a serious way, in the last year because of a very human thing that happened in the Kerr Foundation. We had always been very supportive of children's programs. For example, we have supported Pathways, an early childhood development school and program in Oklahoma City. We have given them a considerable amount of money over the past several years and we are currently funding a Challenge Grant for Rainbow Fleet, a program that provides books, toys, and games for day care homes and day care centers. But we did not have any sort of committment in the child care area until I hired this really marvelous young woman as my secretary who had two small children under five. She was divorced. Her husband was not paying child support and could not be

located. One day I went to a meeting at which child care was discussed. After the meeting, I told my secretary what had been discussed and she said, "You have no idea, do you, what the needs of working mothers are?" She began to tell me the cost of keeping two small children in a day care center and the burden of getting up at 5:00 a.m. everyday in order to take her children to separate facilities because she could not find a place that would take siblings. It was a real education for me. As a result of that discussion, I told my trustees that if this is a problem for one of our employees who performs brilliantly, we have an obligation in this community to find what is going on. Consequently, the trustees encouraged me to find out what kind of child care programs the community was providing. In my search for information, I became aware of a group in Oklahoma City called the Downtown Pastoral Care Center. It had been working with people in various corporations and also private groups such as the Junior League, in finding some kind of answer to the need for child care services, primarily in downtown Oklahoma City. There were virtually none.

It was my opinion that Kerr Foundation could serve as a catalyst and assist this group in reaching its goal. Working together, we asked the corporations in downtown Oklahoma City to come to a conference to discuss child care—specifically on-site, employee-owned day care centers. We invited Michael Romaine from the Zales Corporation in Dallas as a consultant. He told us of the experience at Zales' national headquarters in the operation of a child care center. Romaine's report conveyed a feeling that a similar program could be developed in Oklahoma City. As a result of the meeting, 17 of the corporations who attended responded that they were ready to become involved. At this time it appears that they want to form a consortium to provide day care services to their employees. Two of the 17 corporations indicated an interest in a voucher system as opposed to downtown day care.

The Ford Foundation in New York provides voucher care for its employees. It has been enormously successful for them. Most of their employees live outside of the burrough of Manhattan and they want their children to have child care close to home. I can see where that would be a better alternative than taking children on the train or subway to the center of the city.

Outside of the downtown Oklahoma City area there are several in-house child care programs. Most of these are in hospitals. There is a very interesting program that has just been started at the South Community Hospital in Oklahoma City. Primarily it is a referral center. South Community Hospital is going to expand in the next two years. Reportedly, they are going to provide in-house care for the children of their employees in the expanded facility. At the Kerr Foundation we are very eager to look at the possibility of funding a good referral system for the entire metropolitan area. For a private foundation, an information and referral service is probably the most appropriate and beneficial role that we can play. However, I am hopeful that we will be able to assist the downtown child care consortium if it develops. A Challenge Grant might be very helpful in getting the consortium "off the ground." As a foundation, we are committed to the children and youth of the community and want to help where possible. In my opinion, helping working parents manage their child care responsibilities is a wise investment in human resources.

Blunt:

In 1957, Georgopoules, Mahoney and Jones addressed an issue which seems as relevant to this conference today as it did then, one-quarter of a century ago. They simply ask:

> The question is why some workers tend to be high producers, or why persons of largely similar backgrounds who are engaged in the same activity under comparable conditions exhibit considerable variability in output[1].

Indeed, in this age of cutbacks, declining federal support, and rising unemployment, one must again attempt to understand that which has fostered confusion for 25 years. What, we may query stimulates motivation and productivity in a time of decreasing morale and personal security? That is, what benefits may we, as organizations and managers, utilize to stimulate our employees, produce results, and enhance subordinate growth?

As a political scientist, I would like to suggest a political approach to resolving this dilemma. This will not be, as you might expect, a lecture on the virtues or limitations of governmental intervention and support. Rather, it is an effort to articulate a very rational—and political—technique for dealing with this problem.

To begin, we must acknowledge that all persons are inclined to engage in certain behaviors to the extent that those behaviors will result in outcomes which are perceived as beneficial. For example, if a congressman, mayor, or president places a high value on retaining his office, chances are quite excellent that he will engage in behaviors which he thinks will result in that outcome. Similarly, if an individual in an organization places a high value on money it is likely that he will focus his efforts to ensure that he receives that valued item. An appropriate behavior for the politician might be to position himself on visible issues in a manner consistent with the majority of his constituency and, for the organizational worker it may be to produce a high quantity of output.

Such a seemingly fundamental approach is valuable for managers contemplating employee benefits in today's organizations. It is an idea which is relevant to the topic of families and work because it links the workers own personal goals to those of the organization. In this regard, the central issue for us today is, how can the organization influence subordinate motivation through the use of benefits, or similarly, how can an individual best acquire from an organization that which he values for both himself and his family.

A four step process is necessary to fulfill these identical, yet often widely divergent, goals. First, and this is structurally the most difficult, the individual supervisor must be provided with the authority and autonomy to independently control a variety of benefit options available to each subordinate. Second, assuming the implementation of supervisory discretion, an open and honest line of communication needs to be established between each pairing of supervisor and subordinate. This linkage

[1]Georgopoules, B., Mahoney, G., and Jones, N. A path-goal approach to productivity. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, December 1957, 41(6), p. 345.

has as its primary purpose the articulation and subsequent understanding of subordinate interests and values. Third, the behaviors sought by the organization and the supervisor must be clearly defined for each individual subordinate. This requires not only definition of immediate tasks, but, more importantly, a clear indication of the overarching behaviors which are considered most important to the organization and supervisor. Fourth, and finally, there must be appropriate (i.e., valued) rewards for subordinates who engage in defined behaviors.

One may contend that this approach contains at least two general and significant limitations. The first of these suggests the distinct possibility that an individual may not know or understand his own values. The second argues that it is inappropriate for an organization to inflexibly define behaviors in which employees are to engage. In response to the first criticism I would suggest the implementation of a strategy whereby (a) the particular employee is provided with a pre-defined benefit structure which includes a variety of incentives while, (b) the supervisor works with the individual to better understand his own values and desires. This is entirely consistent with effective communication and efficient managment.

The second issue is not one to be rectified but rather accepted and understood. In this regard, it must be recognized that the individual has a responsibility to his organization to provide defined services. It is only in this capacity that the organization need and should articulate behaviors. These actions, taken by the supervisor, are appropriate and absolutely necessary.

In summation, the worker of today is, in many respects, no different than his counterpart of past and future years. He desires and will desire valued rewards for his efforts. Accordingly, it is in the best interest of the organization to tie these benefit opportunities to motivated and productive behavior. Indeed, it is the organizations responsibility not only to itself but also to its supervisors, individual workers and thus, their families.

Evolution and Public Policy

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Public financing of day care facilities has generated continuing debate involving the issue of women and their relationship with and in the family. The critical question involved is whether large scale federal funding of out-of-home child care would

threaten the American family and traditional ideologies concerning "women's place" at home and in the work force. The dispute is not new with its roots dating back to the early 1940's. The circumstances of an increased number of women in the economy, especially mothers of young children, and a more aggressive women's liberation movement have focused many historians' attention on World War II and the influence it had on American society. Polenberg (1972) states that "World War II radically altered American society and challenged its most durable values" (p. 5).

Increased female employment during the war indicates certain aspects of societal continuity or change, especially in attitudes toward the status of women. Gregory (1974) asserts that "as a result of the war crisis...women were able to emancipate themselves socially and psychologically and to establish a greater degree of social and economic independence than they had ever known before" (p. xii). Chafe (1972) declares that "the content of women's lives had changed, and an important new era of potential activity had opened up to them, with side effects which could not yet be measured" (p. 195). Degler (1980) views World War II as "the second transformation of women's work" but recognizes a continuity in women choosing employment outside the home as a secondary means of identification in their lives (pp. 418, 435). Straub (1973) notes that "World War II permanently altered concepts of welfare, industrial technology,...the relationship of the individual to the state, and the role of interest and minority groups in politics, but no comparable changes in the status of women in American society are visible" (p. 358). Clive (1979) remarks that "most women failed to grasp whatever opportunities for emancipation the war afforded" (pp. 71-72). Anderson (1981) takes the position that despite the "improvement in her absolute status during the war, the working woman would find that her relative position within the American economy and its ideological concomitants remained unaltered by the wartime experience" (p.65). An integral aspect of these discussions has been the study of the use of federally funded child care centers as indicative of societal attitudes concerning working mothers.

While the major focus of these examinations has been World War II, only cursory attention has been devoted to the foundational period preceding the war. For the period involving direct federal aid for group care of children, Oklahoma seems to be representative. World War II thrust thousands of Oklahoma women into industrial jobs. A significant factor contributing to the use of women in Oklahoma war production areas was the presence of day care facilities that enabled mothers of young children to participate in defense work. Yet the creation of these child care centers was a direct response to public needs and not the realization of a particular vision of society that placed women as independent or equal laborers. Two elements affecting the formation of group care units in Oklahoma were: the commitment of the federal government to help finance them; and, more importantly, the presence of existing centers which allowed a quick infusion of women into the labor force.

Campbell:

Day care is today a very large subject in our subculture, but we're coming at it from a completely different direction and for different political motivations than those

who were working at it between 1933 and 1946.

It is interesting to hear George talk about a very simple, functional thing called a day care center. They mix their orange juice and graham crackers in a facility such as a church. And the toilet facilities and kitchen nearby were only accommodating factors. Can you imagine today trying to get a loose set of guidelines and standards for day care facilities approved by the state of Oklahoma, much less by the Federal government, on such generalistic terms as that? In 1933, what could we say the real political goals were of a politician who came forward with an idea and a little bit of money to take care of someone's children. It was to get the unemployed employed in the midst of the biggest economic depression that this world has ever experienced and that was a very real political goal. And so we waived all of those other distinctions: "How many square feet per child," and "Is this a degreed teacher?" George even said that anyone can take care of young children. And they did most of their program with volunteers. Can you imagine setting up a day care facility anywhere today using any kind of state and federal funds with volunteers?

I think it was clear that they moved on towards a war effort. There was a very real public panic at that time. They were willing to move heaven and earth to get anything done that needed to be done. We needed to get Rosie the riveter out there, in type and style, so that her husband could be over in Guadalcanal. And who was going to take care of the kids? It didn't matter who they were, as long as there was someone. And the grandmothers and the good Sunday School teacher types could take care of the children without all of the academic qualifications we need today. There is a necessity to come forward and realize that the moral, ethical, economic, political and cultural upheaval that we have come through since the end of World War II is significant, in that we have new problems facing us now. Consider the number of people who are now raising children alone. It is a significant number. If there is anything to panic about, it may be the war of another generation when we take these children that are going home from school at three o'clock in the afternoon unguided. We're not talking about day care now, we are talking about something much larger than just day care. We work with a great number of mothers who face the crisis of children who have been unguided and who have gotten themselves in trouble.

Another perspective of this problem is the corporate side of child care. Within the last two weeks, a major corporation in Oklahoma City asked us to work with an employee. The corporation does not want to lose the employee but she has a major problem. She is divorced, she has four small children under age five, and her husband has not been making child support payments for several months because he is unemployed. They are not living together so there is no sharing of responsibilities. She is several months behind in her day care payments and the day care center refused to keep her children one more day without payment. The corporate posture was, "we don't want to get involved in personal affairs." The corporation was reluctant to lend the employee the money for day care because it would set corporate precedent. In this particular case, we were able to arrange a loan with the bank which had carried her car loan. But it was important that the corporation not make that loan because it would have set corporate precedent. The need for corporate involvement in day care facilities would really have ministered to this woman's problem. You can multiply that problem many times over in Oklahoma City.

In regard to the survey taken in Oklahoma City which Ellen Chitwood spoke of, we found that there was a day care need for 5500 children in downtown Oklahoma City, but slightly more than half did say that they would rather leave their children at the day care where they were in terms of day care location rather than a day care center downtown. But we need to remember that there were more than 2000 who said that downtown care would solve some real problems for them. So where we are is in contrast to the period that George addressed today. We have come through a change in our cultural ethic regarding women—that is no longer a big debate. The facts are that women are in the work place and that, in many instances, it does take a two-paycheck family to live in accordance with the lifestyle that we have been educated to believe is normal. So the question now is, who is going to take care of the children? There is a kind of hysteria about turning loose of the development of our children. But on the other side of that coin are all of the programmed children who, because of parental misuse of authority, abuse of temperament, and the absence of really needed spiritual nurture, are spending their time with clinicians trying to get their heads untangled from the things that were learned at mother's knee. Perhaps if we maintain objectivity, we will not be all that terrified about beginning to meet the real needs of the working public for care that is better than no care at all.

I think the great hope for day care is to make it clear to those businesses that will become involved that it is not good to have government support, maintenance for day care, but only a modicum of supervision to maintain controls for health purposes and environmental purposes. Then we should help the corporations to understand that day care centers will pay for themselves. All they need is corporate underwriting—the support they need to get started and to secure the property. But over and beyond that, working parents are paying somewhere anyway, so why not nearby?

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PART THREE:
RESEARCH REPORTING

Assessing Conflict Between Family Life and Employment: Conceptual Issues in Instrument Development

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Family life and employment systems are richly linked due to their mutual dependence. Family units provide sources of labor for business in return for the economic resources necessary for day-to-day living. This interconnectedness often means that family relationships and routines are influenced by the structure of employment; and conversely, that productivity in the work force may be directly related to the family structures and problems of employees. In spite of extensive study, debate, and current national interest, the relationship between work life and the family is still not well understood. This lack of understanding is partly due to a failure to treat work and family as an interacting unit rather than as separate entities.

Early writers (Marx and Engles, 1939; Durkhein, 1947; and Weber, 1940) typically believed that the institutions of society and work were highly interdependent. Since these early writings, however, empirical investigations on the topic of work have followed narrower paths (Near, Rice, and Hunt, 1980). In the areas of employment and family studies, "most theoretical and empirical literature continues to examine the work world's impact on the family and not vice versa" (Porter, 1978, p. 4).

Current trends of high labor force participation by both men and women have contributed to the recent visibility and national attention of work/family concerns. At the 1980 White House Conference on Families, the highest priority issue called for "family-oriented personnel policies—flextime, better leave policies, shared and part-time jobs, and transfer policies" (White House Conference on Families, 1980). Other evidence of the salience of work/family issues is that the topic was chosen by General Mills for its 1980-81 American Family Report (Families at Work, 1981) and that a recent review (Families and Work, 1981) listed 13 separate work/family projects.

Popular literature has also begun to discuss and question work/family issues as evidenced by a recent survey in *Better Homes and Gardens* entitled, "How is Work Affecting American Families?" Approximately 32,500 readers voluntarily took the time and effort to complete the survey and return it. In addition, over 4,000 respondents attached letters (Keating, 1982).

A clearer understanding of the interactive relationship between work and family is imminent. People at every level, from national policy-makers to workers and family members are seeking a better balance between job and family demands.

The Family/Employment Research Team at Oklahoma State University has been examining the relationship between work and family for the past two years. The purpose of this paper is to describe aspects of the ongoing project and attempt to describe our efforts to conceptualize and assess the relationship between work and family.

A Pilot Study: Perceptions of Family/Employment Interactions

During the summer of 1980, a random telephone survey was conducted in Stillwater, Oklahoma. The purposes of the study were to:

1. Identify conflicts between employment and family life; and
2. Identify employee perceptions of how jobs can be changed to improve family life.

The data collection procedures yielded 150 completed interviews.

The team's initial attempts to understand the relationship between work and family were based on a content analysis of the responses to the following questions asked during the telephone interviews:

1. In your opinion, what are three common ways in which work can affect family?
2. In your opinion, what are three common ways in which family can affect work?

Table 1 presents a summary of 347 responses to question one. The answers were grouped according to four categories — time, health, family roles and responsibilities, and money. Time and health were the most frequently stated conflict areas across all age groups and occupational classificatons.

When respondents were asked to identify ways in which family affects work, two different types of answers emerged: 1) *work impacts*—specific ways that family can affect work; and, 2) *family conflicts*—family-related problems that impact work. The complexity of the work/family interface and the difficulty experienced in trying to separate the work and family components became obvious to the research team. An attempt was made to keep the issues separate but was only partially successful.

The initial content analysis divided work impacts into four categories: 1) *time*—e.g., loss of time at work; not meeting professional obligations (20%); 2) *attitudes*—e.g., not interested in work; decreased concentration, satisfaction, and enthusiasm (41%); 3) *lowered work efficiency*—e.g., fatigue and health problems (33%); and 4) *personnel conflicts*—e.g., taking out frustrations on employers, coworkers, or clients (6%).

Although the intitial content analysis depicted in Table 1, and described above, was helpful in providing descriptions of conflict areas between family life and employment, it was not a sufficient conceptual model to guide the development of objective measurement tools. It was necessary for the research team to do a reanalysis of the

pilot data in an attempt to develop a conceptual model which is more theoretically grounded and allows for input from both work and family arenas.

TABLE 1
Work/Family Conflicts

CATEGORIES OF WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT	FREQUENCY OF OCCURANCE	PERCENT OF CONFLICTS REPORTED
TIME	153	44
1. Too much time at work	95	28
2. Priorities	43	12
3. Scheduling	15	4
HEALTH	109	31
1. Physical & emotional impact	101	29
2. Fatigue & energy	8	2
FAMILY ROLES & RESPONSIBILITIES	51	15
1. Effect on family	23	7
2. Effect on marriage	6	2
3. Effect on children	2	1
4. Effect on worker	5	1
5. Household tasks	10	3
6. Child care	5	1
MONEY	34	10
1. Not enough money	29	8
2. Arguments over money	4	1
3. Control of money	1	0

Proposed Model for Conceptualizing Work/Family Conflicts

Further attempts to understand the relationship between work and family have resulted in the development of a beginning conceptual model. An ecosystems perspective serves as the theoretical basis of the model. The psycho-social environment of the family, including both internal features (individuals, parents, parent-child and sibling relations) and external features (work relations, governments, churches, friendships) make up a theoretical perspective often referred to as ecosystems. The ecological system framework emphasizes the interdependence of organisms and environment (Compton and Hall, 1972). Individual family members are interrelated with other family members and with various outside environmental systems which are physically or culturally relevant. The web of transactions carried out through the family organization constitute the basic elements of the family *ecosystem* (Paolucci, Hall, and Axinn, 1977).

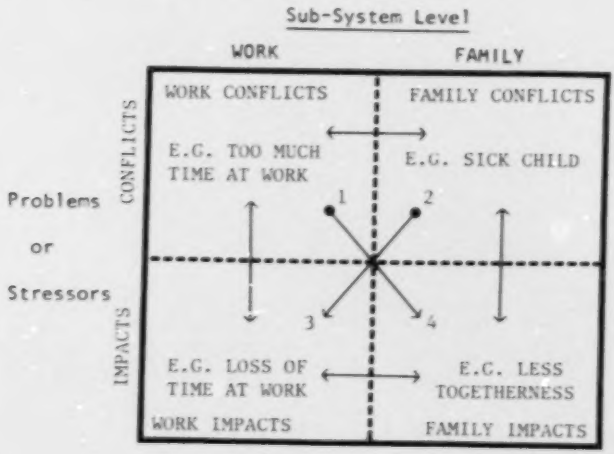
Work and family are interdependent realms within the ecosystem. They are not separate entities. Rather, both systems engage in production and consumption of resources produced by the other system. This interdependence is necessary for the maintenance of both systems. Allen (1979) suggests that family be defined accor-

ding to the producer-consumer model: the family is "...a group of people who are bound by their common work efforts, from which their common consumption derives...Workers would be seen as family members with constant, ongoing responsibilities, and family members would, by definition, come to consider themselves in light of their total work" (pp. 35-36).

FIGURE 1

Proposed Model For
Conceptualizing Work/Family Conflicts

This model illustrates the interactive nature of both the employment system and the family system. The dark arrows represent the primary direction of influence—work conflicts impacting the family and family conflicts impacting work. The smaller arrows and the broken lines denote permeability and the interchange that can take place between all cells in this model.



The conceptual model of work/family conflicts developed by the Family/Employment Research Team is depicted in Figure 1. The figure identifies a system of *work* and *family* with *conflicts* and *impacts* as a four-cell matrix. The internal boundaries are marked by broken lines to denote permeability and fluid interchange between the cells. The arrows in the center represent the primary direction of influences that occur. It is important to note that influences could be exchanged across any of the proposed boundaries.

Cell number 1 reflects *work-related conflicts* (conflicts that stem from work) that often have an effect on functioning within the family. The primary direction of influence is toward the family (Cell 4). An example of a work conflict is "spending too many hours at work" which relates to "less time together as a family."

Cell number 2 illustrates *family conflicts* (conflicts that originate within the family) that primarily effect the workplace (Cell 3). An example would be "losing time at work" due to having to "care for a sick child."

Cell number 3 includes *work impacts* which are specific ways that employment functions can be affected by individual and family problems. The primary forces impacting on employment in Cell 3 are conflicts originating in the family. For example, an employee "experiencing marital problems" (Cell 2) may be "less able to concentrate on the job" (Cell 3).

Cell 4 reflects *family impacts* which are the specific ways in which family can be affected by outside influences. An example of a family impact would be "neglecting household tasks" (Cell 4) because of "job related fatigue" (Cell 1).

While the dark arrows on the table indicate the primary direction of influence, the broken lines and smaller arrows are meant to describe the open boundaries and influences shared among the cells. An example which illustrates the open exchange between conceptual areas is having to "work weekends and evenings" (Cell 1) which often affects "less togetherness as a family" (Cell 4). "Less family togetherness" could then lead to more "interpersonal relationship problems within the family" (Cell 2). "Poor job performance" (Cell 3) could be one result of an increase in "family relationship problems" (Cell 2). "Poor job performance" could then be related to "lack of job promotions" (Cell 1). In this example, all cells have influenced and have been impacted by other cells.

A new content analysis of the data from the pilot project, guided by the above conceptual model and further literature review, has resulted in a more comprehensive codification of the conflicts between work and family. Table 2 presents the two most abstract levels of conflicts and impacts as identified within each of the 4 main cells of the model.

Operationalization of the Conceptual Model

The PROFILES (Personal Reflections on Family Life and Employment Stressors) Inventory is a newly developed instrument designed to assist individuals in identifying the extent to which family life and employment affect each other directly and indirectly. It includes common situations that take place in the home and on the job. It is envisioned that PROFILES will have wide application for both businesses and families as participants in each system seek to identify the primary conflicts and the most frequent impacts on the functioning of each system.

The construction of PROFILES was guided by the Conceptual Model of Work/Family Conflicts (Figure 1) and a comprehensive codification of those conflicts (which are partially presented in Table 2). The initial instrument has two parts. PROFILES (Short Form) consists of 72 general items based on the second and third levels of the content analysis, (see Table 2 for summary of items per category). For example, in the category of Work Impacts, there is a general item dealing with *work productivity* and another general item dealing with the *work atmosphere*. There are four more specific items dealing with *work productivity* in the areas of "time at work," "obligations," "concentration" and "physical readiness." Likewise, there are two more specific items concerning *work atmosphere* which deal with "work attitudes"

TABLE 2

Topics Addressed in the PROFILES Inventory

TWO MOST ABSTRACT LEVELS OF CATEGORIZATION SCHEME	No. of Items in PROFILES I	No. of Items in PROFILES II
1000 Work Problems		
1100 Work Schedules	4	14
1200 Job Location	5	6
1300 Salary and Benefits	5	8
1400 Physical Work Environment	3	8
1500 Work Relationships	5	15
1600 Job Characteristics	5	19
Sub-totals	27	70
2000 Family Problems		
2100 Personal Problems	4	23
2200 Interpersonal Problems	5	20
2300 External Problems	6	21
Sub-totals	15	64
3000 Work Impacts		
3100 Work Productivity	5	19
3200 Work Atmosphere	3	13
Sub-totals	8	32
4000 Family Impacts		
4100 Household Functioning	3	9
4200 Personal Well-Being	5	22
4300 Family Schedules	5	15
4400 Family Satisfaction	5	15
4500 Family Consensus	5	21
Sub-totals	22	82
TOTALS	72	248

and "work relationships." This same pattern has been used to develop items in the categories of *work problems*, *family problems*, and *family impacts*. The respondent is asked to identify how often each of the events occurs in his/her home life or work life on a scale of 0-3. The respondent is also asked to indicate how much stress or impact is associated with a conflict in terms of functioning at home or on the job. Response choices include: 0 = no effect, 1 = some effect, and 2 = major effect. There is also a provision for the respondent to indicate whether an event does not apply to his/her life. These response choices allow calculation of both frequency scores and impact scores for Work and Family Conflict Issues.

PROFILES II maintains a similar format as PROFILES I; however, it is based on the fourth level or most specific items in the final content analysis. There is one statement for each of the 248 work/family conflicts identified in our pilot study and a review of literature.

The research team is currently involved in data collection which will serve as the initial step in the validation of PROFILES. Respondents are completing a short Background Form, a Family and Work Survey (which contains established scales on marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, family cohesion and adaptability, self-esteem, internal/external locus of control, job satisfaction, job flexibility, and work environment) and PROFILES I in about 20 minutes of release time from their jobs. Each respondent is requested to take home PROFILES II, fill it out and return it in the postage-paid envelope that is provided.

The primary goal of the current data collection is external validation. Scales will be built from second and third level conflict items relating to one topic and will be correlated with an established scale addressing a similar issue. For example, under *work problems*, items dealing with work relationships will be correlated with a score from an established scale on job satisfaction dealing with work relationships. If the PROFILES items are valid, they would be expected to correlate highly with the established scale. Likewise, correlations between fourth level items in PROFILES II dealing with work relationships and an established subscale will be examined. If the correlation is high, further evidence for concurrent validity can be established.

Although PROFILES II can and will be used for external validation, the main purpose for including it is for internal validation of PROFILES—in short, to verify the extent to which the second and third levels in PROFILES I correlate with the related fourth level items in PROFILES II. Again using work relationships as an example, the more general items on PROFILES I dealing with work relationships will be correlated with the specific items in PROFILES II. A high correlation between the more general items in PROFILES I and the more specific items in PROFILES II would indicate internal validation. This would give us confidence that the results from the short form version would be similar to those from the long form version.

Summary

The Family/Employment Project at the Oklahoma State University Family Study Center is committed to continued research and refinement of tools to assess work/family conflicts. Although the PROFILES Inventory (Short and Long) Forms are still in the experimental stages, the ability to assess the range and impact of conflicts on both family functioning and work productivity will provide policy makers with objective information prior to decision making. It is anticipated that PROFILES will be able to identify unique patterns of conflict for workers and family members that make up specific occupational groups. Normative data on purposive samples across the spectrum of job types and family structures will help identify topics for employment training programs and employee awareness and education. In addition, decisions on whether to implement family oriented work policies such as job sharing or flex-time can be made on the basis of empirical evidence and projections for anticipated benefits for both employer and employee. It is our goal to continue research with these goals in mind.

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Female Academics' Role Multiplicity

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This paper examines the attitudes and behavior of married academic women with children and role stress associated with the women's attempt to cope with and function in a multiplicity of roles. Time flexibility of the workplace and a supportive husband are found to be crucial factors in accommodation of role expectation to role performance.

In commenting on a published article by Alice S. Rossi (1970), Pierre L. Van den Berghe (1970) identifies "the two roles of women." This has been a rather commonly offered distinction between woman's domestic role (wife-mother-homemaker) in traditional social organization and the role performed by the woman employed outside the home. The most common and pejorative role contrast used is between domestication and work. Thus, the myth is perpetuated that domestic activities are 'non-work', or a 'labor of love'.

These simplistic notions of role allocation for women are too restrictive and incomplete. Most women do not exhibit a life consumed by functioning in only one or two roles. To the contrary, it is the multiplicity of roles frequently assumed by women that must be considered in order to understand the difficulties women face in coping with their lives both at home and outside the home.

The contention there is that it is not merely the domestic role but the complexity or multiplicity of domestic roles which creates heightened role conflict for the female, particularly if she attempts to become highly committed to other, extra-domestic roles. Similarly, and especially for the faculty woman, it is common for extra-domestic activity to take form in several distinguishable roles: teacher, researcher, student advisor, for example. While it is obvious that some of both domestic and extra-domestic roles may be overlapping and simultaneously or interchangeably performed, more insight is gained from recognizing their distinctiveness than by attempting to blend and blur them into heterogeneous aggregate roles. Recognition of the multiplicity of roles greatly aids efforts to understand how a woman with career aspirations copes with the various externally generated expectations deriving from her choice of being a wife and mother.

Recognition and consideration of the multiple role fulfillment demands encountered by married faculty women with children provides a conceptual-organizational structure for the questionnaire/interview information which was collected for a larger study which was conducted in the summer of 1980 by the author. This paper focuses only on the parenting role.

The research draws on the experiences of 32 women faculty in the Oklahoma State University selected by stratified random sample of all female faculty who are both married and have children living at home. Information was obtained by means of a structured interview based on the objectifying interview technique. The interview was supplemented by a self-administered questionnaire.

The findings which follow emphasizes only the parenting role and the coping strategies used by the respondents to deal with the incessant and often excessive demands of that role. One of the most stressful sets of demands on the female professional's time and energy is that of parenting. That role produces anxiety and guilt unless an adequate support system is developed and maintained.

Parent (Mother) Position-Set

The thirty-two women in the study have 63 children living at home; 33 are males and 30 are females. Table 1 below shows the number of households with 1, 2, and 3 children. No households had more than 3 children living at home.

TABLE 1

Sample Households by Number of Children at Home

Category	Number of Households	Percent of Households	Number of Children
1 child at home	8	25.00	8
2 children at home	17	53.13	34
3 children at home	7	21.87	21
Totals	32	100.00	63
Mean number of children = 1.969		s.d. = 0.695	s.e. = 0.12

Of the 32 women in the study, 14 have only elementary school age or younger children. Table 2 shows the school status categories and the number and percentage of women having children at home in each category of this school status classification. Two women in the study stated that they had a child in college living at home during the 1979-80 school year.

Child Care

The most practical problem faced by academic women with small children at home is that of adequate child care. Even for husbands who are highly supportive of their wives' academic careers, the responsibility for child care is assumed by the mother. Thus, she must not only make the arrangements, but she must also ensure that there are adequate provisions when disruptions occur.

TABLE 2

Sample Households by Children's School Status

Children's School Status	Number of Households	Percent of Households
Preschoolers only	5	15.63
Preschool and elementary	3	9.38
Elementary school only	6	18.75
Elementary and middle/high school	7	21.87
Middle/high school only	8	25.00
Preschool, elementary and middle/high school	1	3.13
High school and college	2	6.25
Totals	32	100.00

Of the fourteen women in the study who have only elementaray school age or younger children, twelve women indicated that they needed some child care arrangement while they worked. Three women allocated this role to unrelated day babysitters. One woman paid both a relative and a day care center for child care. The day care center was the child care arrangement used exclusively by six women for the care of their children. Two other women used both a day care center and an unrelated day babysitter.

To work at an effective level, these mothers of young children found it necessary to resolve any role conflicts in regard to family and career, and these conflicts often centered on obtaining competent child care. The inability to find competent substitute child care has been cited as the primary limiting factor in a professional woman's decision to work—part-time, full-time or not at all for a time (Rich, 1975, p. 34-36; Ginzberg, 1966, p. 122).

Ideal Care. In response to being asked what they viewed as ideal care for young children while the mother works full-time, the respondents separated their answers into two parts: infant care (birth until about two years of age) and toddler care (two years of age until child enters elementary school). Table 3 illustrates how the majority of women felt about ideal child care and how this ideal differs with the age of the child. It is noteworthy that, ideally, the majority felt an *infant* should be cared for in a home situation, preferably on a one-to-one basis, and the majority felt that a *toddler* would best receive ideal care in a "quality" day care center.

Most women who indicated that they had very positive experiences with child care in their home situation mentioned that they were looking for a "grandmotherly-type" who would spend much time giving comfort and affection to their children.

TABLE 3

Sample Distribution by Idealized Child Care for Infants and Toddlers

Ideal Child Care	Infant		Toddler	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Home situation, preferably one to one, or very small group	19	59.4	6	18.8
Day care center	7	21.9	22	68.8
Mother should stay home	3	9.4	1	3.1
Relative to care for child	2	6.2	2	6.2
No opinion	1	3.1	1	3.1
Totals	32	100.0	32	100.0

When discussing the need for adequate comprehensive day care, four faculty women in the study expressed resentment that the University did not give a higher priority to this need. They expressed a desire that children of faculty (both men and women) be given preferential treatment for the laboratory day care program on campus. One women respondent stated that "child care for faculty children should be as important as faculty parking, football tickets, TIAA-CREF, and other faculty benefits." Another commented on the university day care policy of not accepting children until they have reached age three.

> Most universities the size of O.S.U. have some provision for the care of infants, especially for faculty and staff. It would have been a lot more convenient and time-saving had my child been on the campus... It makes it more difficult for working mothers to be with their children during the day if they have to drive a good way to be with them. Essentially, it is impossible.

Role Sharing. If the husband is also in academia, there may be more sharing of parenting roles because of the flexibility of academic schedules. Harris (1979b), in her recent study noted:

> In my experience academic couples are the only professionals who regularly share child care on an equal basis. The crucial operative factor is that academic schedules are extremely flexible and contain relatively few fixed hours when an individual must be away from home. The academic world is also more supportive than most environments of couples who share child care. Men who express nurturant qualities and spend a great deal of time with their children are admired, not criticized for being unmasculine or unambitious...(p.28.).

Twenty-five of the respondents (78 percent) indicated in the interview that the spouse shared importantly in the responsibility of child care. This care included seeing the child off to school, a day care center, or babysitter in the morning or picking the child up in the evening and being home when the child arrived from school. Also mentioned was providing transportation, reading to the child, preparing meals for the child, playing games and supervising the child's activities.

Making Time. Occupations differ in terms of expected commitment of time and energy by the participants in the occupation.

> ...Success in an academic career...makes inordinate demands on time and energy. The absorption in subject matter which is required of a successful academician is, if not all consuming, at least consuming of enough time, energy, and emotional substance to affect all other relationships... Being an academic person therefore required enormous preoccupation with professional work for many hours a day, usually at the expense of family contacts. In rapidly growing areas of knowledge, reading alone takes great chunks of time... (Bernard, 1964, p. 222).

The academic woman with children, like other working mothers, is likely to make a special effort to spend time with her children to counteract her perceived ideas of the negative affect of her working on her children (Bernard, 1964, p. 223). In order to do this, many of the women in the sample made a great effort to be home at, or nearly at, the same time that their school age children arrived home in the afternoon.

Eleven women reported that they try to arrive home around 3:30 p.m. before the children. Eight additional women usually arrive home by 4:45 p.m., and 13 women reported that they usually leave work after 5:00 p.m.

The women in the study varied in the ways that they have dealt with making time for their children. Eight of the respondents (25 percent) have resolved role conflicts and accommodated family needs by working part-time. A respondent who works full-time on campus told of two decisions made by her and her husband which she felt reduced a great amount of anxiety and frustration in their household about child care. One decision was to have two telephone lines at home. She stated emphatically,

> If any member of the family is not home, one of the lines *has to be free*. It makes the communication to the household from the outside world better. No matter where your child is, if they need you, I want a line available. Sometimes, too, I only have thirty seconds to call home and check to see that all is all right, and I want to get through.

The other decision was to live near the university which saved time and energy and eliminated distance as a major barrier for emergencies. Seventeen other women in the study (56 percent of the total) also noted that "living close to the campus" was a major time-saver for their families.

Emergencies. On no topic involving child care was more anxiety shown than on the handling of emergencies, especially sudden illness or accident befalling one of the children when the parents were at work. This nurturing/comforting role appeared to be allocated very reluctantly to others. Table 4 shows the plan that each of the respondents had worked out in case of an emergency as described above.

TABLE 4

Sample Households by Response to Child's Emergency

Response to Child's Emergency	Number of Households	Percent of Households
Mother would leave immediately and go take care of child	10	31.2
Either parent would go	16	50.0
Friend or close neighbor would go	3	9.4
Relative in town would go	3	9.4
Totals	32	100.0

When the faculty woman and her husband were both on the teaching faculty at the university, an effort was made to prevent overlapping of class schedules. In that way, one parent would always be available to handle a family emergency, it was reasoned. However, it should be noted that even though sixteen women stated that *either* parent would go to an ill child's aid, only two of the women indicated that their husband would be called first and be the most likely one to feel free to leave immediately.

Summary

The parent (mother) position-set produced some role stress among most of the respondents, while child care resulted in the most anxiety and guilt feelings. Most of the women had been socialized from childhood to believe that mothers should stay home with their infant children. Many of these women were not completely happy with leaving offspring with someone else on a regular basis, but as one respondent said, "There was nothing else I could do."

The most crucial factor in the accommodation of role expectation to role performance was found to be the support of the husband. If both the professional woman and her husband are in academia, flexible schedules allow more sharing of parenting roles. Without this flexibility for both parents, the professional woman felt some selfishness and experienced guilt and anxiety at times.

A few of the women who had cooperative husbands and a strong career motivation were able to find adequate child care and they experienced less guilt than those who were not able to make satisfactory arrangements. These women have been able to work full-time continuously. Others have felt it necessary to accommodate family needs by working part-time.

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Work, the Mildly Handicapped, and Their Families

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Working for financial gain is the dream of all Americans. To those with limitations, be they physical or intellectual, this part of the American Dream may be only a fantasy. Kinnison, Zimmerman and Nelson (1981) reported that a crisis period which creates family stress is when parents realize that their adolescents are completing their schooling and preparing to enter the world of work with minimal work skills. Little forethought and preparation has been given by parents of mildly handicapped adolescents about work until the school years are ending.

Parents have support to prepare their children for work with the implementation of Public Law 94-142 and Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The documents require that the child's Individual Education Plan (IEP) must contain career/vocational programming; thus, career education information is required by the law for all handicapped children.

According to Hoyt (1979), research literature indicated that adolescents discuss career choices with the parents more frequently than with councelors or teachers. Bandura and Walters (1965) reported selection of careers by adolescents tend to be modeling behavior of roles their parents presented. Thus, integration of parental efforts with school programming should remove the problems currently experienced by the handicapped. Clark (1981) reported that 40 percent of the handicapped are underemployed, 25 percent are unemployed, ten percent are idle and five percent are institutionalized; fifty-two percent of the employed handicapped earn less than $2,000 annually. Thus, these investigations into career education provided to adult and adolescents and parental responses to a summer career education program for the mildly handicapped adolescents were intitiated at the University of Tulsa.

Career Education Survey

Two populations of handicapped persons were surveyed about their access to career education information during school years and their perceptions of the effec-

tiveness of this information in adult life. The adult group (post-secondary age) had membership from learning disabled, physically handicapped, hearing impaired, mentally retarded, and health problems. The school-aged population represented the learning disabled, mentally retarded, and multihandicapped populations. Since the total population is less than 100, results are reported as trends. The project has been funded for a larger research base.

The school programming for handicapped persons is summarized in Table I. The results indicate the current trend, the identification of the mildly handicapped (LD and MR) during the elementary and junior high years. Question 2 substantiates this with 95% reporting that they received special education during their school years while only 33% of the adults report this occurring during their school years. The provision of career education information, as mandated by PL 94-142 and Section 504, has not been found but it is better than the adults reported (49% to 11%). The family was and still rates as the leading source for students, but the special education teacher is of equal importance. The students reported *no* assistance in over one of five cases. Information occurs primarily in high school, junior high school, and elementary. Again, over one of four respondents reported no career or vocational information was made available.

Table II presents the current employment status of the respondents to the questionnaire. The employment status (adults 78% and adolescents 65%) and desire to have a job (adults 11% and adolescents 35%) suggest that employability is foremost in everyone's personal ethic. The adolescents reported that their current employment positions are obtained and held with only minimal skills (14% employed in area trained for). Both groups reported that they sought out their current employment (adults 67% and adolescents 60%). Parents, once again, are still the prime career information providers and choice persons for the adolescents as it was for the adult groups (adults 78% and adolescents 65%). The mass media materials about jobs, job training and career choices has not been an effective intervention technique.

Thus, Clark's (1979) reported need to emphasize career education for the elementary school age child is not being practiced. Clark stressed the need for career education to be infused and integrated into the elementary curriculum for mildly handicapped adolescents.

Parental Responses to a Summer Program

Possibly the greatest concern of parents with adolescent-aged exceptional children is facing the unpredictability of their child's future employment. This concern increases for parents whose children are mildly handicapped. Decreasing these concerns is limited in absolutes, but knowledge of available alternatives can reduce this strife and help the parents with positive assurances. Providing parents with alternatives should be initiated during their elementary years as well as during their adolescence. Advocates of vocational counseling for the handicapped view the parental attitude toward work and employment as a significant force, but this input has been neglected as a predictive measure for future training and planning.

TABLE I

SCHOOL PROGRAMMING

1. When was your disability identified?

ADULTS		ADOLESCENTS
44%	Before Entering School	7%
22	During Elementary School	37
33	During Junior High School	44
0	During High School	12
0	After School Completion	0

2. Did you receive special educational programs?

33%	Yes	95%
67	No	5
	Unsure	0

3. Did your school provide you with career guidance information?

11%	Yes	49%
89	No	39
0	Unsure	12

4. Who provided you with career information?

0%	Special Education Teacher	28%
0	Counselor	16
0	Regular Education Teacher	2
0	Assistant Principal	0
100	Family	28
0	No One	21

5. Did you discuss attending vocational training or attending college for future training while in elementary school?

Elementary School

0%	Yes	5%
100	No	95

Junior High School

0	Yes	35
100	No	65

High School

44	Yes	72
56	No	28

TABLE II

ADULT STATUS

1. Are you currently employed?		
78%	Yes	35%
0	No	0
11	Student	35
11	Houseperson	0
2. Would you like to have a job?		
11%	Yes	35%
0	No	0
89	Not Appropriate	65
3. What type of disability do you have?		
11%	Learning Disability	86%
33	Physically Handicapped	0
22	Visually Impaired	0
11	Hearing Impaired	0
11	Mental Retardation	9
11	Health Problems	0
0	Emotional Problems	0
0	More than one handicap	5
4. Are you currenlty in the career you trained for?		
44%	Yes	14%
44	No	42
11	Not Appropriate	44
5. Did the schools help you find permanent employment?		
22%	Yes	16%
67	No	60
11	Not Appropriate	24
6. Did your parents discuss careers and career choices with you?		
78%	Yes	65%
22	No	35
0	Not Appropriate	0
7. Did you learn about your career field from radio, television, or the newspaper?		
0%	Yes	25%
100	No	75
	Not Appropriate	

The Summer Career Exploration and Experimental Program (SCEEP) at The University of Tulsa was initiated in 1979 and has actively sought parental involvement and parental evaluation of the program. SCEEP is a four-phase model that serves mildly handicapped adolescents.

Phase I begins with a brochure informing parents of the program and soliciting their questions about the project. Phase II begins with enrollment of the adolescent in the project and involves the mailing of a letter requesting both the parents and participants attend the orientation prior to the program's beginning. Orientation, Phase III, includes:

1. Getting acquainted and rationale for SCEEP.
2. Description of the program.
3. Purpose and objectives of program.
4. Evaluations from previous programs.
5. Slide presentation of previous program activities.
6. Scheduling and planning for current program.
7. Question and answer time.

At this time, parental visitations and/or participation are encouraged for all activities. Phase IV, the final day's program, includes graduation ceremony, evaluation of project, and luncheon for parents and participants. Before the last day's festivities begin, Trainer Advocates, university practicum students, explain to the parents their adolescents' activities and job exposure during the project.

During the evaluation period, the participants' parents and trainer advocates all evaluate the project. Additional comments are requested on each question of the program evaluation. Table III presents the results of the questionnaire. Parental comments on their child's work and socialization skills included:

1. None.
2. Work attitudes are good. Socially, she prefers her own company.
3. Needs to work with people her own age.
4. Needs to learn to express himself.
5. Concentration, personal appearance, and inter-personal relationships.
6. Has a problem relating to people appropriately, that is, putting his hands on people and talking too much.
7. She needs to set her goals higher. Has abilities she doesn't realize.

In response to a question on what areas of training would you like to see offered/expanded for your child, six different responses were obtained. These included:

1. More actual on-the-job training (almost unanimous).
2. More programs for multiply handicapped.
3. I would like for him to try more things himself.
4. A real job with supervision or a go-between to help her growth.
5. If possible, a work sample.
6. That you don't have to take the most menial jobs.

Finally, the parents were asked to provide any additional comments they had. Six additional comments were generated and they included:

1. Good experience.
2. Opportunity to be with others and learn about the world of work.
3. I'll be glad to help the program any way I can. Time is no problem for me.

4. This has been good for her ego — like attending college.
5. It has helped him see that the real world of work exists.
6. Keep up the good work, hope that it can continue.

In conclusion, we believe that one way to decrease parental concerns for mildly handicapped adolescents is the provision of continuing services where alternatives and resources can be made available to parents. Frantic calls from parents continue to be received when their child looses a job, gets in trouble with police, or both. Improved programming requires continued involvement of parents if successful integration of their mildly handicapped adolescents is to occur.

TABLE II

PARENTAL EVALUATIONS

1. I feel this program held my child's interest.

Yes	93%
No	0
Unsure	7

2. Has your child discussed the day's events and activities he/she participated in during the program?

Yes	93%
No	7
Unsure	0

3. Do you feel your child's needs were met in these areas of the program?

Yes	100%
No	0
Unsure	0

4. Would you be interested in a continuation of this program next summer?

Yes	93%
No	7
Unsure	0

5. Do you feel having university students and the university setting as part of the program contributed to the program in any way programs in the public schools cannot?

Yes	100%
No	0
Unsure	0

Conclusions

Career decisions made by young adults are based upon the influences of both parents and teachers. Support for these decisions is important since it will provide the foundation for their adult lives. Parents and teachers must expand these children's experiences and occupational options prior to graduating from high school. Parental input in career counseling helps parents develop a realistic understanding of their child's potential and enables the parent to help their child in making appropriate career

choices.

Only with the integrated efforts of parents, teachers, and career/vocational specialists will any changes occur in the career patterns that lock the handicapped into the cycles of poverty and underemployment. Then can the handicapped assume their appropriate place as productive members of our society.

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The Relationship Between Mothers' and Daughters' Sex-Role Attitudes and Self-Concepts in Three Types of Family Environments

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There is much evidence that changes are taking place in the attitudes which females have regarding themselves and their choices for future roles. This study looked at the influence which mothers have on the sex-role socialization and self-concepts of their daughters. Using the theoretical framework of symbolic interaction, the mothers were viewed as *significant others* in the lives of their daughters.

The manner in which persons view themselves influences the attitudes that they hold toward various roles. Cavan (1962) suggested that self-concepts find expression through social roles. Therefore, roles which are chosen by persons will usually be those which they feel capable of performing, based on attitudes directed toward their self-concepts. The attitudes which female children will form regarding themselves and appropriate role behavior may be related to their mothers' attitudes.

Almost all studies have used the dichotomous variable of working versus non-working mothers. This research was conducted in an attempt to study two areas which are deficient in the present literature. First, the study examined attitudes of *both* mothers and daughters regarding four areas: (a) self-concept, (b) marriage, (c) children, and (d) careers. Second, the study divided the "working" mothers into two categories: dual-work and dual-career. *Dual-work* was defined as those mothers who worked because they had to and who had little chance for upward mobility in the job. *Dual-career* was defined as those mothers who had advanced degrees, most were Ph.D.'s, M.D.'s, or lawyers. They worked because they were career oriented and the career provided personal satisfaction.

There were 25 dyads in each of three categories: traditional mothers and their daughters (mothers who had never worked outside the home since the birth of their daughters); dual-work mothers and their daughters; and dual-career mothers and their daughters. Daughters were between the ages of 10 and 14 and all were members of intact families where both parents were biological parents. Only white families were

used in this study. Traditional mothers included only those who had never worked full-time since the birth of the daughter. Both dual-work and dual-career mothers had worked for five consecutive years prior to the study.

The instruments which were used to measure attitudes and self-concepts were the following: Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmrick, and Stapp, 1973); Sex-Role Orientation Scale (Brogan and Kutner, 1976); a short questionnaire for the daughter concerning her future role choices (see Appendix); the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Fitts, 1965); and a Personal History Inventory (Hopkins, 1977). Mothers and daughters responded to the measurements independently. The Pearson product-moment correlation was used to analyze the relationship of mothers' sex-role attitudes with daughters' sex-role attitudes, and the relationship between mothers' and daughters' self-concepts. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to compare the three groups of mothers' sex-role attitudes and self-concepts and the three groups of daughters' sex-role attitudes and self-concepts.

The data indicated that there was a high correlation between mothers' and daughters' attitudes on most of the variables and in most of the different types of families.

The data which were collected from the 75 mother-daughter dyads provided support for the following conclusions:

1. Mothers and daughters shared similar attitudes regarding sex-roles.
2. Mothers' and daughters' attitudes regarding marriage were significantly related in all three groups.
3. Only mothers and daughters in the dual-work groups had similar attitudes regarding children.
4. Mothers' and daughters' attitudes were significantly related in all three groups with regard to careers.
5. Mothers and daughters in the dual-career group had more nontraditional views regarding all three variables than did the other two groups, and daughters of dual-career mothers had the least traditional attitudes of all groups.
6. Traditional mothers and their daughters and dual-work mothers and their daughters held very similar attitudes concerning marriage, children, and careers, with dual-work dyads being slightly more traditional in attitudes toward marriage than the other two groups.
7. Daughters in all groups had slightly higher self-concept mean scores than their mothers did.
8. Daughters of traditional mothers and daughters of dual-work mothers differed in their attitudes about marriage from those of daughters of dual-career mothers.
9. Daughters in dual-career homes had different attitudes about children from those attitudes held by daughters of traditional mothers.
10. In contrast to groups of mothers, daughters of dual-career mothers had different attitudes regarding careers from daughters of traditional mothers and daughters of dual-work mothers. The latter two groups did not differ on career attitudes.

Mothers and daughters in all three groups had similar attitudes toward marriage. This could be interpreted as supporting the evidence that marriage is still a prominent choice for most women even when they plan to pursue careers. However, across the groups, both mothers and daughters in the dual-career families had different at-

titudes regarding marriage than did mothers and daughters in the other two groups. The difference was in the direction of nontraditional attitudes.

Only mothers and daughters in the dual-work group shared similar attitudes about children. The range of scores indicated the most traditional views toward children were within the dual-work group. The possible reason for these views seems unclear; however, plausible explanations may be that this group of mothers experiences more guilt about motherhood because of employment and compensates for the guilt by expressing the belief that children are essential for a woman's fulfillment, or perhaps these mothers receive fewer job satisfactions and find more personal fulfillment in motherhood. Daughters in this group chose the response of "wife, mother, and career" as often as daughters in the other two groups.

Dual-career mothers' and daughters' attitudes toward children were more nontraditional than those attitudes of the other two groups. The most interesting finding concerning this variable was the higher number of dual-career daughters who reported they would choose marriage and careers only, perhaps foregoing children. Twenty-four percent selected this option. This group also chose nontraditional careers more often than the other two groups. This choice seems indicative of change in young girls' perspectives of viable roles when they live in families where mothers have higher educational and career levels. Whereas mothers may agree intellectually with the choice of childlessness, some daughters may have internalized this belief.

All three groups had similar attitudes about careers within the mother-daughter relationships. However, the dual-career mothers differed in their attitudes from those held by the traditional mothers. This conclusion might be expected in light of other research findings which indicate that career-oriented women have less stereotypic views of appropriate feminine roles and role behaviors than do homemakers (Nagley, 1971).

Career attitudes of daughters did not show the same differences as attitudes of mothers. The fact that dual-career daughters' attitudes differed from attitudes of both groups seems to indicate more substantial rejection of traditional views while the daughters of dual-work mothers and traditional mothers held similar attitudes in the direction of more traditional attitudes.

Contrary to Molm (1978), who reported there was near zero relationship between daughters' attitudes toward women's roles and mothers' employment, this research indicates that daughters of dual-career women have the least traditional views of any group regarding marriage, children, and careers. Some factor(s) must account for the higher number of dual-career daughters who selected the choice of marriage and career, and it is possible that perceived maternal role strain contributed to this choice. Only the self-concept scores of dual-work mothers and daughters achieved a significant relationship, and these scores were correlated at .33 which is not a strong relationship. It can be assumed that mothers' self-concepts have little relation to daughters' self-concepts.

The impetus for this research related to the question of what changes could be brought about to help women see the scope of role choices available to them at this point in time. The logical beginning seemed to hinge on learning the sources which influenced young girls' attitudes toward future roles. The results indicated that there was an overall relationship of mothers' and daughters' attitudes regarding sex-

roles. This may imply that one of the most significant others in sex-role socialization is the mother.

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APPENDIX I

CAREER OR JOB CHOICES
Daughter's Form

Please check the answer which best tells what your feelings are now.

1. When I grow up, I would like to:
   - ☐ be a wife
   - ☐ be a wife and a mother
   - ☐ be a wife and have a job or career
   - ☐ be a wife, a mother, and have a career or job
   - ☐ have a career or job only

2. When you grow up, if you have a job or career, what kind of job do you think now that it will be?

   _____

3. Of the two, who had had the most influence on your decision about your plans when you grow up?
   - ☐ mother
   - ☐ father
   - ☐ both parents equally

Work Roles and Quality of Family Life Among Professionals and Managers

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Despite recent interest in relationships between the work and family roles of professionals and managers, little is known about the range of work role characteristics affecting their quality of family life. This paper examines these relationships among a sample of 276 married male professionals and managers interviewed as part of the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan.

In their development of success constraint theory, Aldous, Osmond, and Hicks (1979) suggested that the relationship between husband's occupational success and couple marital satisfaction is curvilinear with less marital satisfaction at the high and low extremes of occupational success. According to this theory, the quality of family life among professionals and managers is likely to be negatively affected by work role characteristics associated with professional and managerial occupations. Much descriptive and clinical work also suggests that professionals and managers, due to characteristics of their work roles, have significant difficulty coordinating their work and family roles in order to maintain a satisfying family and personal life (Feinberg and Dempewolff, 1980; Greiff and Munter, 1980; Korman, 1980; Margolis, 1979; Pahl and Pahl, 1971).

Limited empirical research on work-family linkages among male professionals and managers indicates that several work role characteristics are related to work-family strain and low levels of marital satisfaction (Voydanoff, 1980). Burke, Weir, and DuWors (1980) found several occupational demands related to the impact of job on home and family and on wives' marital satisfaction among administrators. Those demands with the strongest relationships include role ambiguity, stress in communicating, qualitative pressure, rate of change, job future ambiguity, boundary-spanning activities, and hours. Mortimer (1980) also reported a relationship between amount of time spent working and family strain among professionals and managers.

Occupational involvement is negatively related to the marital satisfaction of professionals and managers. Bailyn (1970) reported higher levels of marital satisfaction among college-educated couples in which the husband is family oriented rather than work oriented. Mortimer (1980) found that occupational involvement is negatively related to marital satisfaction except for men who indicate that their wives support

their occupational efforts. Type A behavior, a concept related to occupational involvement, also is related to low levels of marital satisfaction among the wives of administrators (Burke, Weir, and DuWors, 1979).

Aldous, Osmond, and Hicks (1979) suggested that high levels of occupational success and job satisfaction are associated with lower levels of family role participation and marital satisfaction. Dizard (1968) reported that, in his study of middle-class couples, those who are most successful in their occupations are most likely to have marital relations deteriorate over time. Bailyn (1970) found a negative relationship between husband's job satisfaction and couple happiness for those couples in which the husband was career oriented and the wife family oriented.

This previous research provides broad guidelines for a more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the influence of professional and managerial work roles on family roles and marital satisfaction. However, this work reveals little about the relative influence of a wide range of work role characteristics on quality of family life or the processes through which work role characteristics affect family life. This research fills this gap by examining, simultaneously, several work role characteristics in relation to quality of family life.

Several attempts are being made to assist professionals and managers in dealing with the stress and conflict associated with work and family roles, e.g., the Menninger Clinic seminars that deal with work-family conflict and associated personal stress among executives (Executive Dilemma, 1980). These efforts would be facilitated by more specific knowledge regarding the work role characteristics influencing family roles and the processes through which work role characteristics result in decreased marital satisfaction. In addition, this information has implications for changes in employment practices that could modify some of the work role characteristics associated with decreased quality of family life.

The present data are viewed from the perspective of two apparently contradictory hypotheses regarding work-family relationships: the spillover hypothesis and the success constraint hypothesis. The spillover hypothesis assumes that the effects of work role characteristics carry over directly into family life. Thus, those with desirable work role characteristics are more likely to experience high quality family lives; those with undesirable work role characteristics are more likely to have difficulty with family relationships. The success constraint hypothesis suggests that generally desirable work role characteristics associated with occupational success constrain family life, thereby reducing the quality of family life.

It is possible, however, that not all work role characteristics affect family life in the same way. Some may have direct relationships (spillover) while others are inversely related (success constraint). Therefore, these two contrasting hypotheses may be valid for different aspects of work roles. The present study tests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Extrinsic work role characteristics such as job security, job pressure, and work schedules will be directly related to the quality of family life among professionals and managers.

Hypothesis 2: Intrinsic factors including autonomy, involvement, and job satisfaction will be inversely related to the quality of family life among professionals and managers.

Methods

This project is a secondary analysis of data collected in the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan under contract with the U.S. Department of Labor. Personal interviews were conducted with a national probability sample of 1,515 individuals 16 years of age or older who were currently employed 20 hours or more per week. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are consistent with national statistics collected in government surveys with more extensive coverage. These comparativc statistics are given in the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey report along with more detailed information regarding the sampling and interviewing procedures, the interview schedule, and frequency distributions for individual questions (Quinn and Staines, 1979). The analysis uses the 276 married men employed in professional and managerial occupations.

Measures of work role characteristics are derived from a factor analysis of 86 items measuring perceived work role characteristics. Most of the items are part of two series of questions asking respondents the extent to which several statements describe their jobs or are true of their jobs. Three indicators of quality of family life are included—work-family interference, family role involvement, and marital satisfaction. Work-family interference is measured by a question asking how often the respondent thinks about his spouse and children during work and whether things happening with his wife and children are important to him. Marital satisfaction is a two-item scale based on general questions regarding marital happiness and satisfaction.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the results of a correlation and multiple regression analysis of work role characteristics and work-family interference. The standardized beta coefficients indicate significant effects for four extrinsic characteristics—number of hours, schedule satisfaction, job pressure and economic orientation—and three intrinsic characteristics—work role involvement, locking-in, and job involvement. As would be expected from the spillover hypothesis, high hours, low schedule satisfaction, and high job pressure are significantly related to high work-family interference. High job involvement and low locking-in (an indicator of job autonomy) are related to high work-family interference and would be expected from the success constraint hypothesis.

Spouse employment and presence of children are included in the analysis as alternative explanations of work-family interference. The reported relationships between work role characteristics and work-family interference exist after the effects of spouse employment and presence of children are taken into account statistically. The analysis explains 37 percent of the variance.

TABLE 1

Multiple Regression Analysis of Work and Family Characteristics and Work-Family Interference (N = 208)

Work and Family Characteristics	r	Increase in R^2	Standardized Beta
Job Security	-110	012	035
Pay	-090	003	-035
Number of Hours	396	164	243 ***
Schedule Satisfaction	-374	085	-258 ***
Schedule Flexibility	-018	002	071
Job Pressure	325	020	139 ***
Role Clarity-Responsibility	-009	000	-004
Role Conflict	203	001	061
Enriching Job Demands	107	000	-014
Autonomy	057	001	-015
Locking-in	-096	012	-128 ***
Job Satisfaction	-161	002	-054
Work Role Involvement	-177	009	-091 *
Economic Orientation	054	014	151 ***
Job Involvement	194	010	139 ***
Occupation	107	000	-028
Family Role Involvement	153	007	052
Spouse Employment	-053	000	-003
Presence of Children	268	028	176 ***
R^2		370	

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Occupation: professional = 1, manager = 5; Spouse employment: not employed = 1, employed = 2; Presence of children: no = 1, yes = 5.

Table 2 presents relationships between work role characteristics and family role involvement with spouse employment and presence of children included as controls. Four extrinsic characteristics are significantly related to family role involvement—job security, job pressure, role conflict, and economic orientation.

High job security and low role conflict are significantly related to high family role involvement, supporting the spillover hypothesis. However, high job pressure and high economic orientation are related to high family involvement contrary to the spillover hypothesis and contrary to the results for work-family interference. These results explain only 13.8 percent of the variance indicating that variables other than those included in the analysis are necessary to explain variation in family role involvement.

Table 3 presents results of the correlation and multiple regression analysis for work role characteristics and marital satisfaction. Two extrinsic factors, job security and pay, are significantly related to marital satisfaction. Two intrinsic factors, job satisfaction and job involvement, are also significant. Again, support for the hypotheses is mixed. High job security is related to marital satisfaction; high pay on the other

TABLE 2

Multiple Regression Analysis of Work and Family Characteristics and Family Role Involvement (N = 208)

Work and Family Characteristics	r	Increase in R^2	Standardized Beta
Job Security	071	005	151 **
Pay	-050	006	-068
Number of Hours	050	003	-003
Schedule Satisfaction	-061	004	-010
Schedule Flexibility	027	001	-020
Job Pressure	181	028	201 ***
Role Clarity-Responsibility	075	004	055
Role conflict	-077	014	-140 **
Enriching Job Demands	-070	000	081
Autonomy	014	002	-086
Locking-in	002	000	-035
Job Satisfaction	-024	002	-017
Work Role Involvement	-085	003	-076
Economic Orientation	042	014	112 *
Job Involvement	-025	006	-066
Occupation	089	008	104
Spouse Employment	022	000	024
Presence of Children	226	038	201 ***
R^2		.138	

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Occupation: professional = 1, manager = 5; Spouse employment: not employed = 1, employed = 2; Presence of children: no = 1, yes = 5.

hand, is inversely related to marital satisfaction. Pay is a factor used to define occupational success in the success constraint hypothesis. Therefore, high levels of pay may be inversely related to marital satisfaction as a more general indicator of success constraint rather than as a specific work role characteristic such as job security, role conflict, etc. High job involvement is negatively related to marital satisfaction, supporting the success constraint hypothesis. Job satisfaction, however, is positively related to marital satisfaction indicating spillover rather than than success constraint. Once again, the percentage of variance explained is low—only 18.8 percent.

The results provide limited support for both hypotheses. The spillover hypothesis is supported by relationships between job pressure, economic orientation, schedule satisfaction, working hours and work-family interference; job security, role conflict and family role involvement; and job security and marital satisfaction. The success constraint hypothesis is supported by relationships between pay, job involvement, and marital satisfaction; and job involvement, locking-in and work-family interference

TABLE 3

Multiple Regression Analysis of Work and Family Characteristics and Marital Satisfaction (N = 208)

Work and Family Characteristics	r	Increase in R^2	Standardized Beta
Job Security	235	055	160 ***
Pay	011	005	-121 **
Number of Hours	-019	001	059
Schedule Satisfaction	173	015	032
Schedule Flexibility	126	006	054
Job Pressure	-082	001	-028
Role Clarity-Responsibility	054	000	-003
Role Conflict	-075	000	046
Enriching Job Demands	066	003	079
Autonomy	055	000	-032
Locking-in	-030	000	-032
Job Satisfaction	215	011	135 **
Work Role Involvement	-013	000	-040
Economic Orientation	-062	000	-003
Job Involvement	-075	013	-113 *
Occupation	037	005	047
Family Role Involvement	170	024	205 ***
Spouse Employment	-088	003	-057
Presence of Children	-118	019	-109 *
Work-Family Interference	-219	027	-206 ***
R^2		.138	

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Note: Occupation: professional = 1, manager = 5; Spouse employment: not employed = 1, employed = 2; Presence of children: no = 1, yes = 5.

This analysis examined a wide range of work role characteristics in relation to three measures of quality of family life. The data indicate that several work role characteristics are related to the quality of family life; however, several other aspects of professional and managerial occupations are unrelated to quality of family life. The study also attempted to specify patterns of relationships between work and family roles by testing two hypotheses suggesting that relationships differ according to the intrinsic-extrinsic nature of the work role characteristics. These hypotheses received limited support; however, some contradictory results also were found. The amount of variance explained is low indicating that other factors need to be considered. The relationships between work and family life among professionals and managers are complex and require further analysis to be understood more completely.

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Management of Family and Employment Roles: Does Job Sharing Help?

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In response to the concurrent demands of employment and family life that cause stress for employees, their families, and business, the last 10 years have seen a "proliferation of organized efforts to vary the standard five-day, forty-hour work week" (Cohen and Gadon, 1978, p. 2). Alternative employment schedules such as the compressed or four-day work week, flextime, permanent part-time schedules, and job sharing have been implemented to better facilitate the needs of the employer and employee. The recent interest in alternative employment schedules by many U.S. firms and organizations do not, for the most part, stem from management's concern over the working conditions of female employees, but benefits to women may indeed result (Polit, 1979).

When alternative employment arrangements are utilized, employers have noticed such benefits as decreased absenteeism, increased productivity, increased morale, and a higher quality of work (Cohen and Gadon, 1978). For example, a 1977 American Management Association survey of 2,889 organizations indicates that "part-time employment increases productivity and decreases work fatigue among roughly 60 percent of the organizations who use it" (Herman, 1979, p. 312). Employees benefit from alternative types of schedules because they gain greater flexibility for integrating family, leisure, and education with employment.

Job sharing, an employment schedule in which two (or three) people jointly fulfill the responsibility for one full-time position or job title, is one type of alternative schedule that allows many individuals to have the opportunity to more effectively combine employment and family life. Job sharing may bring about important social change with regard to family life, quality-of-life perceptions, life styles, and the division of labor along traditional sex roles (Polit, 1979). However, there is a serious void in understanding how job sharing affects employees' management of employment and family roles. Perceptions of both job sharing and full-time employees are needed to provide in-

formation for employers and family life educators for use in developing employment policies.

Purposes and Objectives

The purpose of this study was to compare job sharing and full-time employees' perceptions of aspects of their employment and family life. Specific objectives were to compare:

1. perceptions of job sharers and full-time employees concerning facilitation of employment and family responsibilities;
2. reported degree of time flexibility of job sharers and full-time employees; and
3. perceptions of job satisfaction of job sharers and full-time employees.

Review of Related Literature

Polit (1979, p. 207) stated, "The quality of women's lives may depend to a much greater extent than that of men's on the kinds of opportunities which result from innovative work schedules." Kanter (1977) and Polit (1979) suggested that the conflicting demands of employee/mother/wife roles might be reduced if more flexible working arrangements were available to ease the burden of handling multiple roles.

In the past, employees provided greater impetus for job sharing arrangements than employers (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978; Meier, 1978; Olmstead, 1979). Reasons for the attractiveness of job sharing and other part-time employment schedules included the desire or need to be employed part-time while raising children (Frease and Zawacki, 1979; Leon and Bednarzik, 1978; Martin, 1974; Olmstead, 1977; Schwartz, 1974), the desire of mothers who are unable to be employed full-time to remain in contact with previously initiated careers (Olmstead, 1977), the need or desire to contribute financially to the support of the family (Foegen, 1976; Martin, 1974), the need or desire to develop a sense of professional accomplishment or utilize professional training (Martin, 1974), and increased social pressure to assume a role other than homemaker (Werther, 1975).

In our review of literature on alternative work schedules, three major job sharing studies were discovered. They were conducted by the Catalyst (1968) organization, the New Ways to Work (1976) organization, and Gretl Meier for the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research (1978).

In 1967, Catalyst (1968) assessed the Partnership Teaching Program, a project conducted in Boston, Massachusetts. The findings indicated that parents generally felt that their children benefited from partnership teaching. School administrators were pleased with the program, believing partnership teachers put in more than half-time work.

In 1976, New Ways to Work, a non-profit work resource center based in San Francisco, California, published a study concerning job sharing in nine San Francisco Bay area school districts. Based on the findings of the study, New Ways to Work (1976) advised potential job sharers to evaluate five key components of the arrangement: 1)examine the prior relationship between job sharers for compatibility; 2)determine the best method of handling responsibilities and splitting the curriculum; 3)discuss relative advantages and disadvantages to job sharing; 4)obtain partner

agreement upon a consistent philosophy; and 5)structure an adequate communication system between job sharers. Job sharers provided a largely positive assessment of their scheduling arrangements. Administrators were generally pleased with the results of job sharing, citing such advantages as retaining older teachers and coupling individuals with complementary skills. The majority of parents who responded to an informal survey believed that their children benefited from the program.

Meier (1978) surveyed 238 job sharers as to their occupations, employers, specific work arrangements, and personal backgrounds. Respondents reported several advantages to job sharing including the opportunity to balance work life with non-work time, diminished fatigue and on-the-job boredom, and flexibility. Drawbacks which were reported included difficulties in restricting work hours, lessened promotion opportunities, and lack of continuity with other employees working full-time.

Research Design

The Family Study Center Job Sharing Project was assisted by an eleven-member Advisory Committee composed of representatives from business firms, institutions, and agencies in Oklahoma. Responsibilities of the Committee were to help develop the questionnaire; advise regarding sampling and data collection; and offer the employers' perspective to the research.

Only through persistence was a sample of job sharers identified because few sites using job sharing were located. The survey sites identified for participation in the study included: Panhandle State University, Goodwell, OK; Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK; and Wichita Public School System, Wichita, KS. A purposive sample of all job sharers in each location was selected, as well as an equal number of full-time employees randomly selected from all full-time employees within the organization whose job descriptions and responsiblities corresponded to those of the job sharers. This process resulted in a total sample of 25 job sharers and 25 full-time employees.

The survey was administered on the job site to those survey participants at Oklahoma State University and Panhandle State University. Sufficient time was allowed by supervisors for employees to complete the survey during office hours. Participants from the Wichita, KS, School System received questionnaires by mail at their home addresses.

Two previous studies of alternative employment schedules provided helpful inputs for instrument development. Perceptions and facilitation of employment and family roles and perceptions of job sharing measures relied on ideas from Meier (1978). The Family Impact Seminar study of flexible employment schedules by Bohen and Viveros-Long (1981) was the source of ideas for items concerning job satisfaction and time flexibility. Items concerning personal characteristics and employment information were developed by the researchers. Questionnaire items related to facilitation of family and employment roles, time flexibility, and job satisfaction were Likert-type statements measuring the degree of respondents' agreement with the items.[1]

Content validity of the survey instrument was pretested by a panel of Oklahoma State University professionals proficient in social research. Questions were modified according to their suggestions.

The basic test of reliability was the ability of items to share a common core of covariance around a particular content area and was measured by coefficient alpha. The final alpha levels of the scales (Employment and Family Responsiblities, Time Flexibility, and Job Satisfaction) were all quite good and within a usable range. These high alpha levels reflected the internal consistency and reliability of each scale.

Analysis

All respondents were female. Forty-nine were white; one was black. Table I reports other personal characteristics of the respondents.

TABLE I

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Number of Children		
0	18	36.0
1	17	34.0
2	11	22.0
3 or more	4	8.0
	50	100.0%
Marital Status of Respondent		
Single, never married	4	8.0
Married, first marriage	37	74.0
Remarried	6	12.0
Divorced	2	4.0
Separated or Widowed	2	2.0
	50	100.0%
Age of Respondent		
19-29	15	30.0
30-39	17	34.0
40-49	8	16.0
50-69	10	20.0
	50	100.0%
Education		
High School Graduate or less	8	16.0
Some College, Junior College	12	24.0
College Degree (B.S. or B.A.)	18	36.0
Advanced Degree	12	24.0
	50	100.0%

The majority (64 percent) of the respondents reported that their income provided "less than half" or "a small part" of family income. Twelve percent reported that

their income provided all of the income for their families.

Comparison of job sharers and full-time employees on facilitation of employment and family responsibilities, time flexibility, and job satisfaction were analyzed using the t-test. A statistically significant difference between job sharers and full-time employees on scales concerning perceived Time Flexibility and Job Satisfaction was found; no significant difference between the two groups was found concerning Employment and Family Responsibilities. Table II reports the results of analyses of each scale.

TABLE II

SCALES ASSESSING EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY (n = 50)

Scale	Job Sharers	Full-time Employees	Degrees of Freedom	t-value	Significance Level
Employment and Family Responsibilities[a]	2.40	2.67	38	1.64	NS
Time Flexibility	3.68	2.91	48	-3.66	.001
Job Satisfaction	4.12	3.74	48	-2.48	.017

[a]Respondents include only those who were married and had children.

Although significant differences on the scale measuring facilitation of employment and family responsibilities were not found, two items on the scale indicated significant differences between the responses of job sharers and full-time employees. The extent to which job sharers wished for more time to do things with family and their reports of feeling physically drained after getting home from work were significantly less than for full-time employees.

Analysis of specific items on the Time Flexibility Scale found that job sharers reported levels of flexibility on ten of the thirteen scale items that were significantly higher than full-time employees: going on errands, going shopping, making telephone calls, taking care of household chores, visiting friends or neighbors, participating in community activities, adjusting work hours to the needs of other family members, attending activities of family members, spending fun or educational time with family, and going to work later than usual if necessary. No differences between the two groups were observed for avoiding the rush hour, going to health care appointments, or having meals with family.

The Job Satisfaction Scale indicated job sharers reported significantly higher levels of satisfaction than full-time employees. The scale included items rating opportunities for advancement, co-workers, supervisor, pay, and work environment which showed no significantly different satisfaction levels; however, job sharers were significantly more satisfied with the number of hours worked, schedule of work hours, and duties of the job than were full-time employees.

Conclusions

Dual responsibilities contribute to many women experiencing difficulty in balancing home and family life with the demands of the work place. Scheduling innovations, such as job sharing, are recommended as a means to help alleviate conflicts women experience between employment and family life.

To date, much of the research on job sharing and other flexible employment schedules deals with job-related issues, and has come from a mangerial or administrative orientation. Our study focuses on employee perceptions. Its purpose is to compare job sharing and full-time employees' perceptions of three aspects of their employment and family life. Findings reveal a significant difference between job sharers and full-time employees concerning perceived time flexibility and job satisfaction. No significant difference between the two groups is found concerning facilitation of employment and family responsibilities.

Occupational categories where job sharing is available are those in which women employees are concentrated. However, job sharing may be a desirable employment schedule for men as well as women. Many men may desire job sharing so that they can be more actively involved in childrearing and/or household management. This may be especially true of married men in dual-earner families.

In the past, barriers to women's employment in occupations not traditionally considered "women's work" have existed. These include restrictions on overtime hours and fixed employment schedules. Providing alternatives to the traditional eight-hour shift can eliminate barriers to women's employment in manufacturing, crafts, and management positions. Until job sharing is expanded to a broader range of occupations, its availability as a means for balancing employment and family demands will be limited to a relatively small group of persons, most of whom are women in traditionally female occupations.

The job sharing employees in our study represent a variety of income levels, but the majority report that their income provides "less than half" or a "small part" of family income. For many respondents, income from their job sharing position may be considered as helpful to the family in making ends meet or in providing income for discretionary purchases. The time flexibility of job sharing, rather than income, may be the primary advantage it holds. For some persons, though they desire greater time flexibility, job sharing is not an option simply because they can not afford to make less than full-time wages. Some union leaders and proponents of alternative employment schedules are of the opinion that the employing organizations reap the primary benefits of job sharing by hiring employees as cheaply as possible regardless of the needs of the community (Polit, 1979). These and other aspects of job sharing related to salary require development of equitable policies and efficient administration on the part of employing organizations.

Surveys have shown that employed married women with children consistently report levels of job satisfaction which are considerably below average (Pifer, 1979). The findings of our study support those of other studies in which responses of job sharers convey "unmistakable enthusiasm and the perception that job sharing has been a positive and successful experience" (Meier, 1978, p. 57). Proponents of job sharing claim that it produces positive on-the-job effects such as higher morale, improved attitudes, and higher overall job satisfaction which may be attributable to two

factors: (1) job sharers perceive the job sharing arrangement as an effort by employers to meet personal needs (Salder and Platt, 1973); and (2) job sharers perceive that the arrangement *does* meet their personal needs (Olmstead, 1979; Frease and Zawacki, 1979).

It seems necessary that there be a fundamental reordering of values regarding employment, leading to greater choice for the individual and in turn, improved quality of life for employees and their families. Schedules that permit increased flexibility for employees who desire them are needed in order to provide more opportunities than now exist for employees to balance employment and family life. Job sharing has been found to be a positive and successful experience for many employees.

A Supreme Court ruling reported by Pifer (1979, p. 19) states the issue clearly: "There is a need for the country to establish a coherent set of policies that reflect emerging realities and recognize the interdependence of employment and family life."

FOOTNOTE

1. Copies of the Job Sharing Questionnaire are available from the Family Study Center, Oklahoma State University.

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APPENDIX A

OFFICIAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, MARCH 19

8:00 a.m. Registration — Student Union Hotel Lobby

9:00 a.m. **Plenary Session** — Student Union Theater

Presiding: Dr. Sharon Y. Nickols, Director, Family Study Center, OSU

Welcome: Dr. James H. Boggs, Vice President Academic Affairs and Research, OSU

Introduction of Speaker: Dr. Neil J. Hackett, Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, OSU

Speaker: Dr. Carl N. Degler, Pulitzer Prize-Winning Historian and Author, Stanford University

Topic: **"Conflicting Demands of Families and Work"**

10:30 a.m. Break

This Conference is funded in part by the Oklahoma Humanities Committee and the National Endowment for the Humanities. We wish to thank them for their support. The findings, opinions, and conclusions presented here do not necessarily represent the views of the Oklahoma Humanities Committee or the National Endowment for the Humanities.

10:45 a.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS / Case Study Rooms 1, 2, and 3

1A. **"Conflicting Demands of Families and Work: A Perennial Problem in Mental Health"** / Case Study Room 1

Moderator: Ms. Carol Woodward, M.S.Ed., Jim Taliaferro Community Mental Health Center, Lawton

Resource Person: Ms. Theda Starr, Oklahoma Department of Mental Health

Reactor: Dr. David Fournier, Family Relations and Child Development Department, OSU

1B. **"Conflicting Demands of Sex Roles and Work"** / Case Study Room 2

Moderator: Ms. Pam Cummings, Consultant, Oklahoma City

Resource Person: Dr. Glenna Matthews, History Department, OSU

Reactor: Mr. Jay Dee Patrick, Field Representative, AFL/CIO

1C. **"Families Under Stress: A Historical Perspective"** / Case Study Room 3

Moderator: Dr. Virginia Dick, Prof., Home Economics, Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford

Resource Person: Dr. Robert Griswold, History Department, University of Oklahoma

Reactor: Mr. Blane Mays, History Department, OSU

12:15 p.m. Luncheon Meeting / Ballroom - 2nd Floor

Presiding: Dr. Baker Bokorney,
Director, School of Hotel and Restaurant Administration, OSU

Prayer: Rev. Walter Campbell, Executive Director, Downtown Care Center, Oklahoma City

Introduction of Speaker: Mr. Ross J. Williams, Secretary, Oklahoma State AFL/CIO

Speaker: Mr. John J. Sweeney, President, Service Employees International Union, AFL/CIO, Washington, D.C.

Topic: **"Families and Work: A Labor Perspective"**

2:15 p.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS / Case Study Rooms 1, 2, and 3

2A. **"Families and Work: Strengths and Strains"** Case Study Room 1

Moderator: Dr. Peggy Meszaros, Associate Dean, Home Economics Cooperative Extension, OSU

Resource Person: Ms. Bonnie Martin, General Mills Corporation, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Reactors: Dean Beverly Crabtree, College of Home Economics, OSU; Dr. Lorraine Fowler, Sociology Department, OSU: Dr. Edward Lawry, Philosphy Department, OSU

2B. **"Families and Work: Unevenly Distributed Pressures"** / Case Study Room 2

Moderator: Ms. Joanne Engelbrecht, Family Study Center, OSU

Resource Person: Ms. Florence Beeman, Family and Children's Services, Tulsa

Reactors: Ms Kaye Nofziger, Family and Children's Services, Tulsa; Col. Martin F. Foutz, Jr., Chaplain, Tinker Air Force Base; Dr. George E. Arquitt, Jr., Sociology Department, OSU

2C. **"Families and Work: Ethnic and Minority Perspectives"** / Case Study Room 3

Moderator: Ms. Bernadette Huber, Curriculum and Instruction Department, OSU

Resource Person: Ms. Rosa Quiroza King, Oklahoma Hispanic Cultural Center, Oklahoma City

Reactors: Dr. Robert Hill, OU Health Sciences; Ms. Jill Tarbell, Oklahoma Committee on the Year of the Handicapped, Tulsa

5:00 p.m. Social Hour / Student Union Hotel Room 275

6:00 p.m. Dinner Meeting / Oklahoma Room

Presiding: Ms. Mary Lou Thompson, President, Oklahoma Division of American Association of University Women

Prayer: Rev. Sam A. Nickols, Campus Minister, United Ministries in Higher Education

Introduction of Speaker: Mr. J. O. Grantham, Director, University Extension, OSU

Speaker: Ms. Ellen Chitwood, Vice President, Liberty National Bank and Trust Company, Oklahoma City

Topic: **"Families and Work: A Corporate Perspective"**

8:30 p.m. After Dinner Dialogue (on your own) / French Lounge

SATURDAY, MARCH 20

8:00 a.m. Registration for New Arrivals / Theater

9:00 a.m. Plenary Session / Theater
Presiding: Mr. William J. Braun, Families and Work Conference Coordinator, OSU

Introduction of Speaker: Dr. Beverly Crabtree, Dean, College of Home Economics, OSU

Speaker: Dr. Sidney Johnson, Director, Family Impact Seminar, Washington, D.C.

Topic: **"Families and Work: Policy Dimensions"**

10:30 a.m. Break / Exhibit Room 1

10:45 a.m. CONCURRENT SESSIONS AND REPORTING SESSION

3A. **"Families and Work Policy: Past, Present and Future"** / Case Study Room 1

Moderator: Ms. Patricia Snodgrass, Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Edmond

Resource Persons: The Honorable Don Anderson, Oklahoma House of Representatives, District 36, Tulsa; Dr. Jack Tillman, Executive Vice President, Downtown Tulsa Unlimited

Reactor: Dr. William Parle, Political Science Department, OSU

3B. **"Corporate Fringe Benefits: Past, Present and Future"** / Case Study Room 2

Moderator: Dr. Elaine Jorgenson, Head, Home Economics Education and Community Services, OSU

Resource Persons: Ms. Claudia Bamford, Blue Cross and Blue Shield, Tulsa; Dr. Anne Morgan, Kerr Foundation, Oklahoma City; Dr. Barrie Blunt, Political Science Department, OSU

3C. **"Families and Work: Evolution of Public Policy"** / Case Study Room 3

Moderator: Ms. Sandra Kay Streeter, Graduate Research Associate, College of Home Economics, OSU

Resource Person: Mr. George Otey, History Department, OSU

Reactor: Rev. Walter Campbell, Executive Director, Downtown Care Center, Oklahoma City

RESEARCH REPORTING SESSION / Theater

Presiding: Dr. Marguerite Scruggs, Associate Dean, Graduate Research, College of Home Economics, OSU

Presenters:

Dr. David G. Fournier and Ms. JoAnn D. Engelbrecht, OSU;

Ms. Claudette S. Hagle, OSU;

Ms. Patricia Nelson and Dr. William Zimmerman, The University of Tulsa;

Dr. Judy Rollins, Kansas State University;

Dr. Patricia Voydanoff, University of Dayton;

Ms. Paula Waters and Dr. Sharon Y. Nickols, OSU

12:30 p.m. Luncheon Meeting / Oklahoma Room
Presiding: Dr. Beulah Hirschlein, Faculty Associate, Family Study Center, OSU

Prayer: Col. Martin F. Foutz, Jr., Chaplain, Tinker Air Force Base

Introduction of Speakers: Dean Beverly Crabtree, College of Home Economics, OSU

Speakers: Dr. Sharon Y. Nickols, Director, Family Study Center, OSU; Ms. Mary Lou Thompson, President, Oklahoma Division, American Association of University Women

Topic: **"Families and Work: A View of the Future"**

2:15 p.m. Adjournment

2:30 p.m. Students enrolled for academic credit should meet in Case Study Room 1 to discuss instructions for class assignments.

APPENDIX B

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Special appreciation is expressed to the following members of the planning committee for their thoughtful suggestions and encouragement throughout the planning process.

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EXTENSION/PUBLIC SERVICE

The Center's extension/public service activities include:

- dissemination of research findings;
- involvement of Center staff in workshops, in-service seminars, lectures, mass media presentations, and publications;
- consultative services for family oriented programs and agencies;
- contractual arrangements with public and private agencies for specific projects.

Problems confronted by families are extremely complex. It is recognized that no single discipline or area of specialization can fully understand or respond to family issues alone. Hence, the approach of the Family Study Center is interdisciplinary. Collaboration with family life professionals and the lay public provides the necessary expertise for responding to the challenges as families face the future.

INSTRUCTION

The Center contributes to instruction by:

- providing forums, seminars, and conferences for faculty, students, and professionals from outside the university for the purpose of exchanging knowledge and identifying areas of concern;
- developing research abilities and an interdisciplinary perspective of students who assist with Family Study Center sponsored research.